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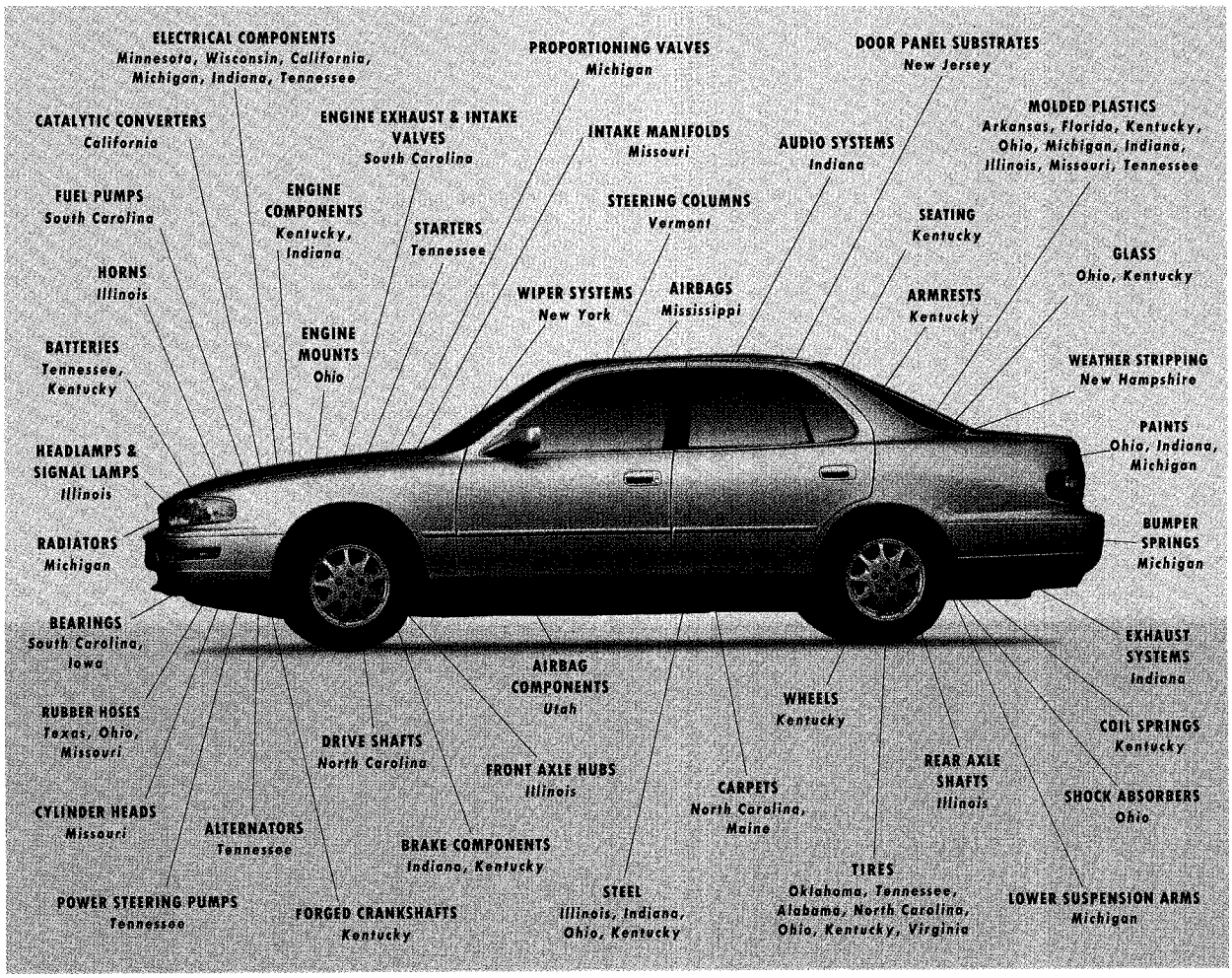

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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LETTERS

Statistical Discrimination

Lino Graglia's superb analysis ["Affirmative Discrimination," July 5] explores the myths which underlie current policies of "benign" racial discrimination. He points out that the euphemism "diversity" is not a synonym for selecting students and faculty of diverse backgrounds, experience, and advantages. As anyone who teaches on a law-school campus knows, under the guise of "diversity," liberal intellectuals are continually engaging in racial stereotyping of the most blatant kind. Their unspoken assumption is that all black people are alike, share the same background and experience, have the same perspective, and are unable—save for the help of kind, white liberals—to compete successfully. And then these same intellectuals unhesitatingly proclaim that the *rest* of American society is racist!

Perhaps the supreme irony is that the last thing many administrators and teachers want on their campuses is real diversity—i.e., people who hold different views challenging the currently accepted wisdom.

Randolph Braccialarghe
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Lino Graglia reported the findings of a former Harvard admissions officer. A typical statistic was that in 1978–79 only 143 blacks had GREQ scores above 650, compared to 27,470 whites (incidentally, why was this year chosen?). This statistic lacks any meaning since he did not specify the total number of black applicants to Harvard and the total number of white applicants. Mr. Graglia should have presented his data in terms of percentages; this would have provided a more accurate picture of any possible disparity in standardized test scores between blacks and whites. But perhaps the results of this approach would not have supported his argument. The statistics used within this article were so obviously qualified and shaped to support the argument that they in fact weaken it. Sadly, it would seem that even in conservative magazines, media bias lives on.

Karen Ricketts
Jeffersonville, Pa.

Presenting the data in terms of percentages does not change the picture. For example, among law-school entrants in the fall of 1976 (the last year for which data were available when the statistics were gathered), 20 per cent of whites but only 1 per cent of blacks and 4 per cent of "Chicanos" had LSAT scores at or above 600 and a GPA at or above 3.25. There is no need, unfortunately, to "shape" the statistics in order to argue that "affirmative action" in higher education cannot work. —LAG

New Jersey's Second Party

The spokesman for the New Jersey Republican Assembly majority in Trenton ["Letters," June 21] did not describe the political situation that this conservative knows. The letter's "prosperity is just around the corner" theme does not comport with a recent poll in which 51 per cent of New Jerseyites said they would leave this state if they could. The Republican politicians who were given veto-proof majorities by the voters in 1991 had the opportunity to remake the bloated, patronage-riddled state government—and they blew it.

They campaigned with righteous indignation against Democrat Jim Florio's $2.8-billion tax increase but in the event left most of it in place. Their solemn platform pledge to give New Jerseyites the right of Initiative and Referendum (I&R) crumbled under the weight of special-interest money.

GOP candidates' pledges to limit state legislative terms were similarly forgotten after the election. In New Jersey, constitutional changes require either simple majorities in two consecutive sessions or a three-fifths supermajority in one session. Republican legislators took no action in the first session; now in the second session, when they know a supermajority is not attainable, they are talking up I&R and term limits in a sleazy effort to fool uninformed voters.

The Republican leadership lost its nerve in a facedown with Florio over his phony ban on "assault" weapons and decided they'd prefer to stab the sportsmen in the back. In reaction to criticism, the Republican Senate President (a bona-fide ultra-liberal) boasted he would use NRA money—which he previously took—against the NRA.

With Republicans like these, there is little need for Democrats.

The probable reason these liberal Republicans wrote to NATIONAL REVIEW masquerading as conservatives is that they see a growing problem named the New Jersey Conservative Party. During the first year of our existence an increasing number of Republicans (and some Democrats) have begun to call themselves "conservatives." While this is nice to hear, we are not impressed with mere rhetoric that is not matched by performance.

With the help of Mike Long of the New York Conservative Party, we are fielding 17 candidates on the New Jersey Conservative line in November. We are building a second political party to give the voters an alternative to what has become an Incumbent Party in Trenton.

Tom Blomquist
Conservative Candidate for Governor
Brick Township, N.J.

The Next Iran?

Kudos to Mr. Peter Rodman for writing the most common-sensical article on non-proliferation I have read for a long time ["A Grown-Up's Guide to Non-Proliferation," July 5]. Unlike most writers on this subject his foremost concern appears to be America's security, not liberal ideology.

A point no one else has had the guts to make is that punishing Pakistan for its nuclear program does America's foreign-policy objectives no good. Since achieving independence Pakistan has been a close ally; it helped beat the Soviets in Afghanistan. As soon as this war ended, Pakistan was targeted for a freeze in arms supplies because of its nuclear program. This policy not only eliminates American credibility with its Third World allies, but also makes the world's most powerful Muslim nation feel betrayed by the United States. If policies such as those Mr. Rodman criticizes are not discarded, U.S. allies in the Third World will assume that friendship with the U.S. may not pay.

M. Raza Hasnani
Lancaster, Pa.

Mr. Rodman's profound article deserves attention. However, he selects a bad example in Pakistan—although the example of Israel is a right one—to illustrate his principle of distinguishing between friends and enemies. Pakistan is no ally. It can only be a temporary partner whose limited usefulness (in defeating Communism) is now past—just like Rus-

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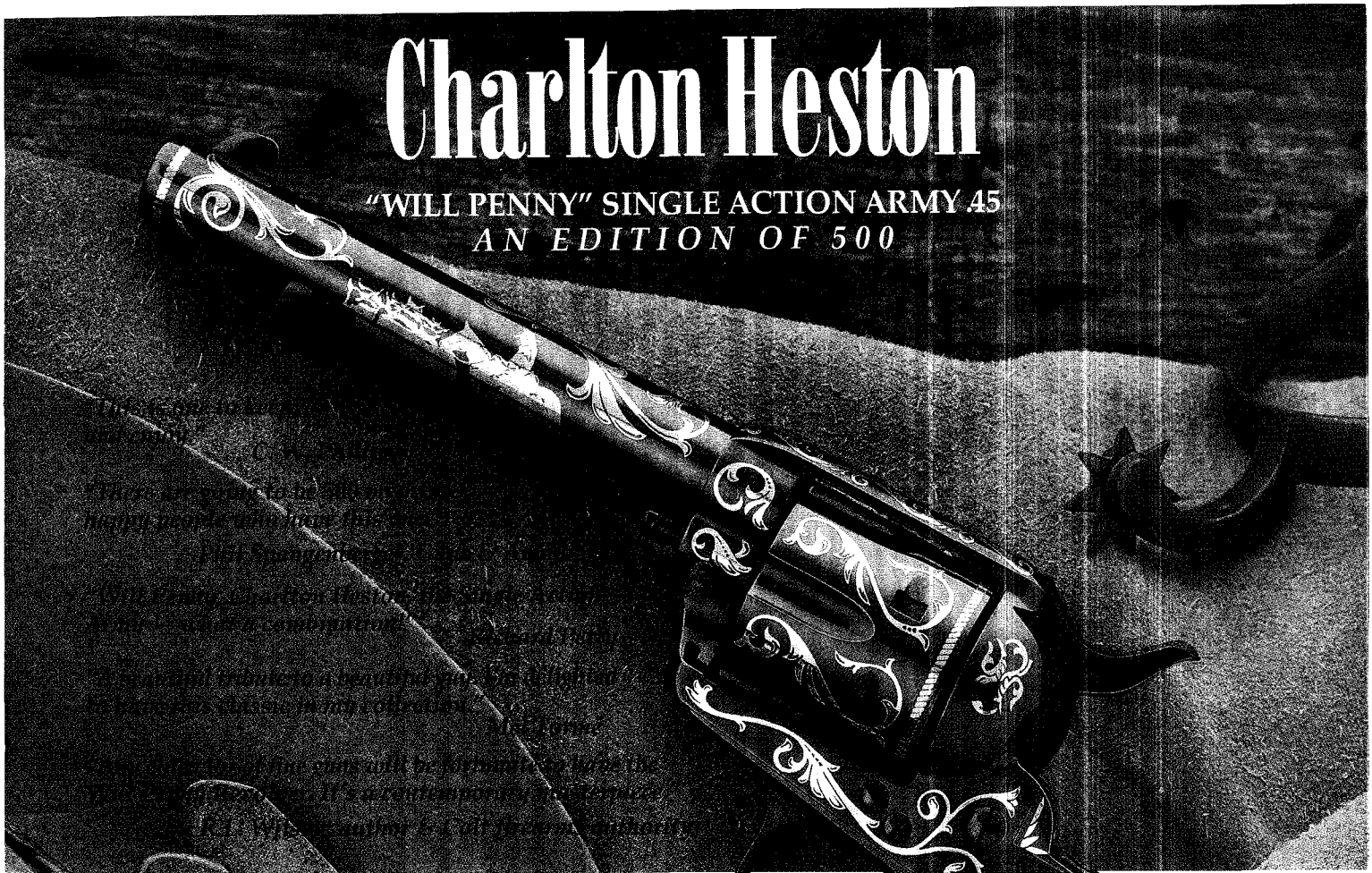

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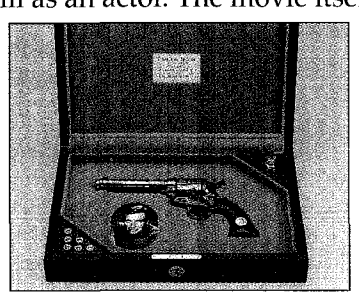

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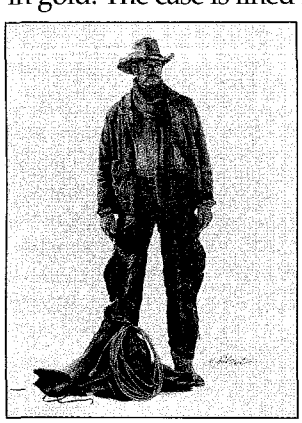

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sia's following World War II—notwithstanding its supporting role in occasional non-critical Somalia-like situations.

In the post–Cold War era, the United States faces a new threat of pan-Islamic resurgence of which Pakistan is a major component. Adequately financed by Arab petrodollars, Pakistan has repeatedly spoken of the Islamic (nuclear) bomb while seeking a leadership role in the Islamic world. Its feverish attempts at acquiring the bomb—and the strike capability to go with it—with the help of the Islamic republics of the former Soviet Union have been highlighted by Republican Senator Larry Pressler (S.D.).

Pakistan is constitutionally a theocratic Islamic state, with a consequential destructive bent. The U.S. State Department is considering declaring it a terrorist nation for its years of involvement in the widespread terrorism in Kashmir and Punjab. Pakistan deserves the same treatment the USSR got and the radical Islamic countries continue to get: denial of technology and financial assistance, constant surveillance, and the pressures of modernity in order to bring it within the fold of the civilized world.

Pradip S. Parekh
Victoria, Tex.

The disagreement between readers Hasnani and Parekh dramatizes the straddle that now characterizes Pakistan's foreign policy: Islamabad seeks a prominent role in the Islamic world even while it seeks to maintain a relationship with the West.

There is no threat to U.S. interests here, unless—through a happenstance of irresponsibility on both sides—Pakistan were to be pushed to abandon its Western links and throw in its lot completely with Iranian-style anti-Western radicalism. If Pakistan's foreign policy switches to a hostile one, we will notice it. In the meantime, Pakistan is not *another Iran, and in the turbulence of the Middle East our ties with traditional friends like Pakistan and (even more) Turkey are still counted as assets.*

The fact that Pakistan has refrained from exploding a nuclear device and flaunting its capability is not of negligible practical and political significance, and it is due in good measure (as in the Israeli case) to the reassurance of a relationship with the United States. We have problems with many elements of Pakistan policy—especially its pursuit of nuclear and missile capabilities—but the lesson remains, as I wrote, that the proliferation problem cannot be usefully addressed in isolation from the rest of our foreign policy. —PWR

Remembering Shirley Letwin

The death of Shirley Letwin left me with a special feeling of loss, for I had looked forward very much to meeting with her on a trip to London this June. Although she had been present at conferences I had attended, unlike Milton Friedman ["The Week," July 19] I had never been lucky enough to have a proper conversation with her, and this was to be a treat.

At those conferences, she had spoken with a careful, clear, even magisterial command that evoked close attention and admiration. She was not, I saw, a person before whom to speak carelessly.

Indeed, when I received a copy of *NR* with a review of my new book ["Virtue Rewarded," April 12], and her name listed as the reviewer, my heart sank a little. The review was by no means a rave and I still remember a chiding line expressing the wish that I had made a few more distinctions; but at the end I felt exultant. Passing Shirley Letwin's tests meant a great deal to me. Her kind words touched me even more deeply when I learned that this was the last thing she wrote for publication.

England, her friends tease, is strewn with memories of books, articles, and arguments she had quietly and dryly taken apart. Her reputation for enforcing high standards, even at the cost of bruised egos, is formidable—except that those who remained her friends learned that ego should be kept out of it, it was the standards that she loved and held them to. Being with her, they all testify, was bracing, and the love she bore her friends was of a rare and pure quality.

The exceedingly warm and lengthy obituaries that appeared in London after her death left me feeling cheated that I had not in time come to know her—and that I had failed to express my gratitude for her review.

I regret especially that I will not be able to express appreciation for her analysis of "the vigorous virtues" and other aspects of a potent public philosophy set forth in her last book, *The Anatomy of Thatcherism*. Less a description of the past than a prescription for public policy in the future, this book was inspired in an exceptional philosopher by an exceptional woman of action. It is a model of how to place a contemporary movement into a larger philosophic context, and how to raise the sorts of questions that practitioners may not need to worry about but philosophers will. Its discussion of "British individualism" may become a classic statement that will correct Emerson's "English Traits" and Nietzsche's chapter on the English mind. Her emphasis on the cultural factors implicit in politics will be extremely useful to all those engaged in our own current "culture wars."

Perhaps these few words, expressed in public, will serve as the word of gratitude and admiration I wish I had expressed earlier, when it might have encouraged her this side of death, and as a mite in the cloud of honors trailing her memory.

Michael Novak
Schaan, Liechtenstein

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English, Sí

Thank you for spelling out the real problem in the Florida language debate ["The Week," June 21]. But please don't succumb to the terminology of the ethnic separatists. Their favored propaganda term, "English only," distorts the issue, slanders the common-language movement, and gives false credibility to ethnocentric demagogues. They say "English only" to reinforce their hysterical rantings that official English laws will eradicate other languages, ban Spanish Masses, force retail clerks to stick to English, and other nonsense.

The Dade County ordinance does not even make the county government monolingual. It provides for multi-language services which include health, safety, and other emergency services, promotion of tourism, and services to elderly and handicapped. It is not "English only." But by keeping common-language supporters on the defensive—always explaining that most of us speak several languages, that we recognize special needs in critical services, that we encourage foreign-language studies—the opposition can divert attention from their actual agenda. A factual examination of the twenty-year language debate in Dade County clearly shows that the common language movement is *not* "English only," while the ethnocentrists of Dade County could accurately be labeled "Spanish only."

Christopher Doss
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Washington, D.C.

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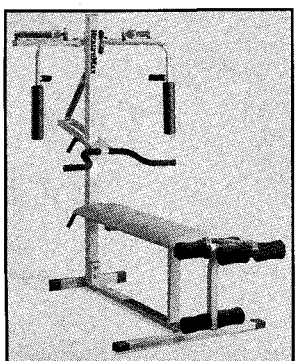

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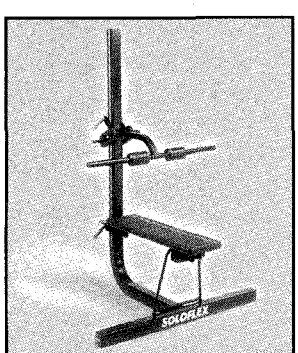

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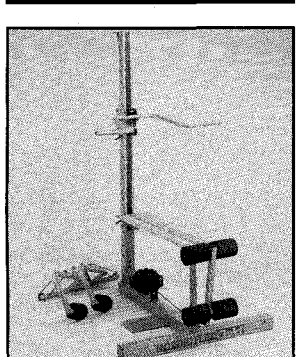

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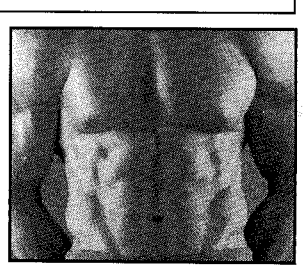

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FROM THE EDITOR

The In Crowd

■ In summer 1990, I was invited to a lunch at the UN for a visiting British politician. It was a small party, just the politician, two diplomats, myself, and a man from *The Economist*.

Oddly, the topic that dominated it was fixed *v.* floating exchange rates, or the Exchange Realignment Mechanism (ERM) of Europe's Monetary System. Mrs. Thatcher's opposition had kept the pound out of the ERM, but the guest of honor brought news that it would shortly join.

He was an amiable chap, fully behind a move which he saw proceeding smoothly to its predestined end.

The Foreign Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (John Major) favored it; the Cabinet agreed with them; Tory MPs supported it; the City of London, British Industry, and the Establishment approved; the Opposition Liberal and Labour Parties had called for it; the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* were on board; even Mrs. Thatcher was resigned to the inevitable.

"The stocks were sold, the press was squared, / The middle class was quite prepared."

Everything favored the success of ERM entry—except that fixed exchange rates regularly break down after inflicting bouts of inflation and deflation on economies in their thrall.

I made this point, and the politician seemed genuinely interested that someone should hold such a novel view. Smiling, he doubted it would turn out that way. I said the same thing in a louder voice. He maintained his point—and his good humor.

Which was more than I did. As we left, the man from *The Economist* said cautiously: "You care really deeply about exchange rates, don't you?"

Well, if you have been following the slow collapse of the ERM (after it has inflicted near-ruin on Europe's economies and a dozen reputations, notably Mr. Major's), you may allow that some affection for floating rates is justified.

But my equanimity was less disturbed by ERM entry itself than by the near-unanimity of elite support for it. Of course, Mrs. Thatcher, Milton Friedman, Sir Alan Walters, and others were skeptical. But by some mysterious alchemy they had been "discredited," and their arguments could safely be ignored.

Such elite enthusiasms are not confined to Britain, or to economics. Half the absurdities visited on America in recent decades have been imposed on a dubious populace by determined elites. Affirmative action, wage and price controls, condom distribution in schools, mass immigration—none of these have had mass popular support. Yet they enjoyed the status of Good Things with national elites.

To oppose such enthusiasms is not to express an opinion but to declare oneself some kind of heretic (racist, supply-sider, fundamentalist, nativist, or whatever).

The Founding Fathers were worried about mob passions; but these have turned out to be far less noxious than the concerns of Harvard, Hollywood, CBS, Congress, and the Supreme Court. For what distinguishes an elite enthusiasm from a mob passion is the greater degree of thought control the elite is able to impose against dissent.

Herbert Spencer described how a fetish operated in some primitive tribe: anyone who offended against it was thrown from a high rock, torn to pieces, etc. But the fetish still operates in modern society, Spencer pointed out in 1880, if more subtly: the miscreant is described as an advocate of laissez-faire, after which nothing he says need ever be listened to again.

Today a *New York Times* editorial declares that to equate affirmative action with "quotas" is itself racism, thus unworthy of debate.

But as MacNeice remarked and the collapse of the ERM confirms:

"The glass is falling hour by hour, The glass will fall forever, / But if you break the bloody glass, You won't hold up the weather." —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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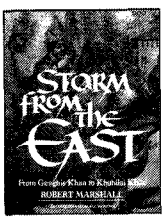

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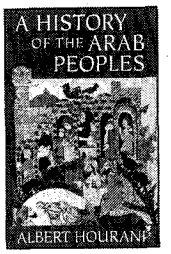

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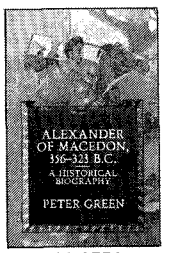

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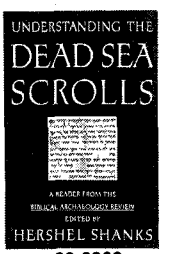

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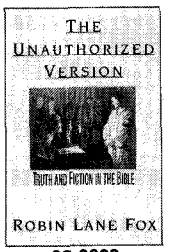

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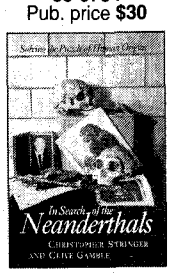

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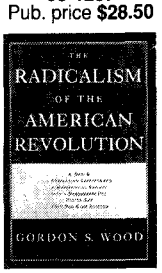

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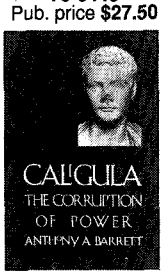

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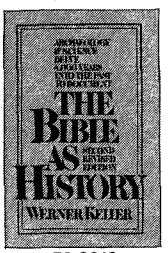

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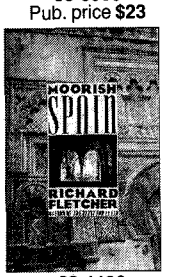

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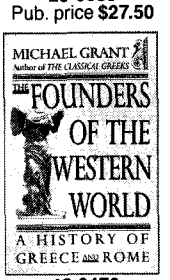

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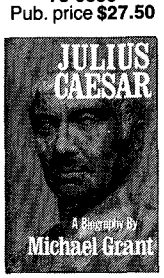

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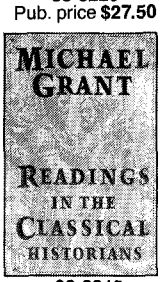

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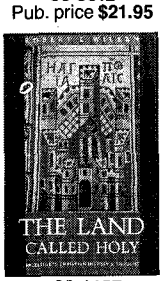

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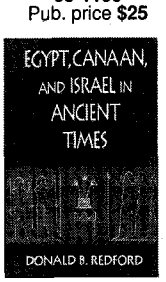

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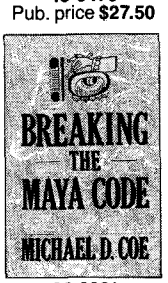

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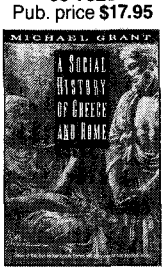

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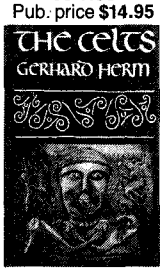

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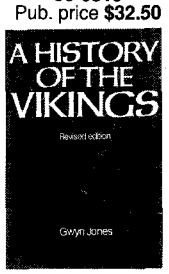

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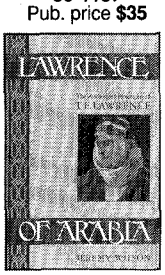

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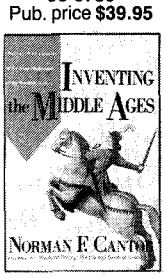

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FOR THE RECORD

■ In 1992, **Al Gore** had worst voting record in Senate on free-market issues, according to Competitive Enterprise Institute index. Gore's CEI score was 7; Senate Democrats averaged 23; Republicans, 69. In the House, Democrats, 20; Republicans, 71. Rep. **Bernie Sanders** (Vt.), the only Socialist in Congress, had a more pro-market record than 160 other representatives, including Majority Leader **Richard Gephardt** and Ways & Means Chairman **Dan Rostenkowski**, and each member of Hawaii, Massachusetts, and West Virginia delegations. Clinton appointees: **Lloyd Bentsen**, 29; **Tim Wirth**, 24; **Leon Panetta**, 18; **Les Aspin**, 14; **Mike Espy**, 9. Top scorers: Rep. **Dick Armey**, 97; Sen. **Jesse Helms**, 99. . . . Just prior to budget vote *Newsweek* poll revealed that 52 per cent of Americans disapprove of how **Bill Clinton** is handling economy. And 49 per cent disapprove of overall performance, according to **Gallup**. . . . Swing senators were being deluged with constituent calls in days prior to vote. Sen. **Bennett Johntson**'s office reported calls coming in at 100 to 1 against his voting for the bill; one day there were 1,000 against, 0 in favor. Sens. **Frank Lautenberg** (N.J.), **Sam Nunn** (Ga.), **Dennis DeConcini** (Ariz.), **Richard Shelby** (Ala.), and **Richard Bryan** (Nev.) all reported heavy influx of callers opposing tax bill. . . . A Harvard Institute for Educational Management polls found that 70 per cent of the 4,100 college students surveyed had a positive impression of the President, though 2 per cent did not recognize his name. And Sen. **Ted Kennedy** rated just 7 percentage points (34) ahead of late Sen. **Joe McCarthy** (27).

■ **George Bush**, 47-year-old owner of Texas Rangers baseball team, is early leader in race for GOP nomination to challenge Gov. **Ann Richards** in 1994. To chagrin of campaign pollsters, however, some voters think it is Bush's father, the former President, who is the candidate, and he still carries a negative image, even in Texas. . . . In Arkansas, Republicans won lieutenant governorship for first time in 150 years. Conservative **Mike Huckabee** defeated **Nate Coulter**, formerly an aide to Gov. **Bill Clinton**. . . . Ohio's Gov. **George Voinovich** (R.) has already gathered some $1.6 million for his 1994 re-election bid. He still carries approval rating in mid 50s. . . . Georgia Rep. **Newt Gingrich** is likely to be challenged in GOP primary next year by former State Rep. **Herman Clark**, who nearly beat the House Minority Whip in 1992 primary, losing by only 1,000 votes. Because of redistricting, the district was new to the seven-term Gingrich, reducing the power of his incumbency. . . . Sen. **Connie Mack** (R., Fla.) has proposed an independent Spending Reduction Commission, modeled after Base Closing Commission.

■ Local government in Washington, D.C., with help of congressional oversight, spends far more per capita than any other city in U.S. In fact, it is 19th in population and 2nd in government spending. With 606,000 residents, D.C. spends $4.2 billion ($7,000 per capita). L.A., with 3.4 million people, spends $650 per capita. . . . During 1980s, operating costs in D.C. rose 54 per cent, more than in any other city, reports **Cato** Institute. The top ten growth cities in America taxed citizens just over half of what lowest ten growth cities taxed theirs.

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"Started dictating my memoirs —couldn't remember a thing."

■ CIA's **Brian Latell** says Cuba is in its worst crisis in thirty years. Loss of Soviet subsidy has devastated the country, forcing power outages and making basic foods scarce. Latell does not believe **Fidel Castro**'s legailization of the dollar and extending welcome mat for émigré tourists will help much. . . . **Morihito Hosokawa**, Japan's new prime minister, is grandson of Prince **Fumimaro Kanoe**, generally considered a well-meaning but inept reformer whose mistakes led to the pre-WWII military dictatorship. . . . **Bai Weiji**, a foreign-ministry employee in Peking, and his wife have been sentenced to ten years in prison for "providing national secrets" to *Washington Post*. . . . CIA's top East Asian analyst, **Martin Petersen**, says China's GNP, growing at 13 per cent annually, now rival Japan's for second place behind the U.S. . . . **Julian Pettifer**, BBC's Saigon reporter during Tet Offensive in 1968, admits now in London *Daily Telegraph* that "the media decided against spoiling the plot of the story with anything as unimportant as facts." . . . Prominent philosophers **Francoise Giroud** and **Bernard-Henri Levy** have new book (*Men and Women*) which examines all aspects of love in a very traditional French way. But new survey finds that more than 80 per cent of French men and women say they are monogamous heterosexuals.

■ **National Journalism Center** is accepting applications for Fall session. NJC provides practical training in research, writing, and editing. Interns receive $100 weekly stipend. Twelve-week session starts September 20; application deadline is September 10. For more info, contact **Mal Kline** or **Piper Lowell** at 800 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. . . . **Claremont Institute** conference on welfare and the underclass has been rescheduled from September to November 18–19.

■ "Shaking his hand . . . was better than sex. Of course, I haven't had sex before, but I'm sure this was better," said Boys Nation delegate **Tyler Peterson** after meeting President Clinton.

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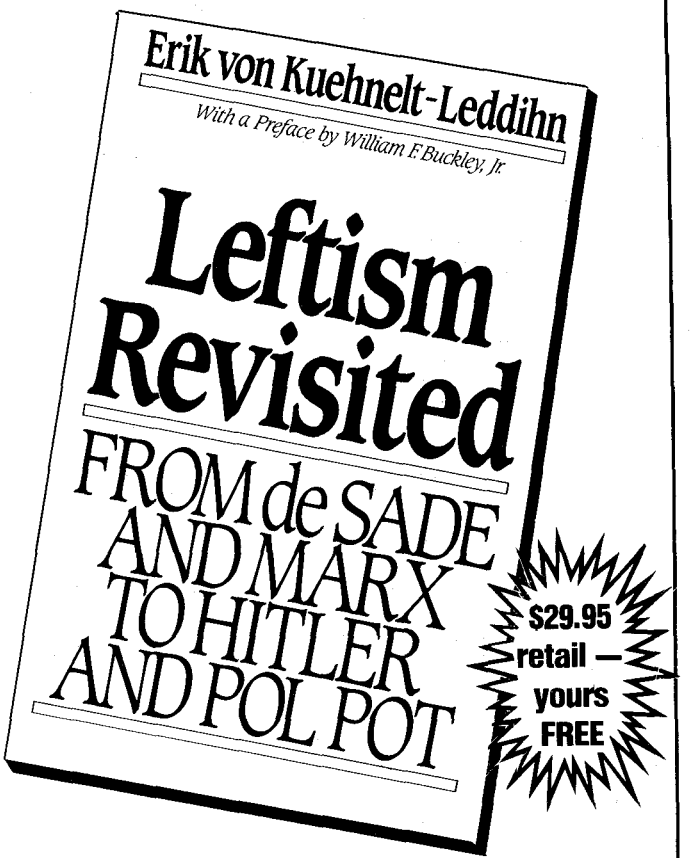
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THE WEEK

■ Virginia Kelley, the President's mother, has signed a book contract for the story of her life. She will make lots and lots of money, but that's all right, she has lots and lots of explaining to do.

■ As the White House twisted Democratic arms over President Clinton's latest budget plan, it was widely reported that in the event of failure Senator Robert Dole had offered to sit down with the President to craft a more moderate compromise between taxes and spending. Mr. Dole hoped to have his offer to the President backed by a majority of the Senate Republican leadership, but Senators Gramm, Lott, and Cochran strenuously objected to entering negotiations unless tax increases were off the table. Rightly so. By providing cover, Vichy Republicans are as responsible for high taxes and big government as liberal Democrats. If Mr. Dole continues to seek bipartisan budget deals, the Senate's drift toward higher taxes will continue as well, and Mr. Dole's title is likely to become Permanent Minority Leader.

■ As we go to press, Senate Democrats are trying to push through Dr. Joycelyn Elders's confirmation as Surgeon General. Senator Edward Kennedy prohibited public testimony on the Elders nomination before his Labor and Human Resources Committee. But despite his gag rule, opposition to the nomination is growing. Senator Don Nickles of Oklahoma has been most outspoken in questioning Dr. Elders's suitability for the post based on her track record as director of Arkansas's Department of Public Health. He was outraged that Dr. Elders chose not to recall faulty condoms being distributed at public clinics following an FDA notification that the condoms had a failure rate of up to 35 per cent. She presumably reasoned that it would be a public-health risk to inform the citizens of Arkansas that there was a public-health risk. In a speech to pro-abortion activists last year, Dr. Elders charged that the Catholic Church was "silent" and did "nothing" about the Holocaust, slavery, and the treatment of Native Americans. A *Washington Post* editorial pronounced that her attitude toward the Catholic Church smacks of "ignorance or malice" and found her approach to public discourse "troubling." With the *Washington Post* showing the way, perhaps now Senator Nickles's colleagues will join his battle.

■ Looking on the bright side, Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen says the Mississippi flood "may stimulate the economy." Poor Henry Hazlitt didn't expect to be spinning in his grave quite so soon. The fallacy is straight out of the first chapter of Hazlitt's classic *Economics in One Lesson*. A youth smashes a store window, a crowd gathers, and a local Lloyd Bentsen observes that the deed, though deplorable, will provide work for glaziers—forgetting that the money the shopkeeper spends to replace the window *won't* be spent on new wares. Instead of having a window and new wares, in other words, he will have bought the same window twice. By Mr. Bentsen's reasoning, the first step to prosperity would be to destroy existing industry. Hmmmn.

■ Illinois's new senator, Carol Moseley Braun, had herself quite a day. During Ruth Ginsburg's confirmation hearings, she had a snit over Orrin Hatch's analogy between *Roe* v. *Wade* and *Dred Scott*, which she called "offensive" to her as the only black woman on the Judiciary Committee. In a second snit on the Senate floor that afternoon, she effectively quashed the routine renewal of a patent on a Confederate insignia on pretty much the same grounds: "This vote

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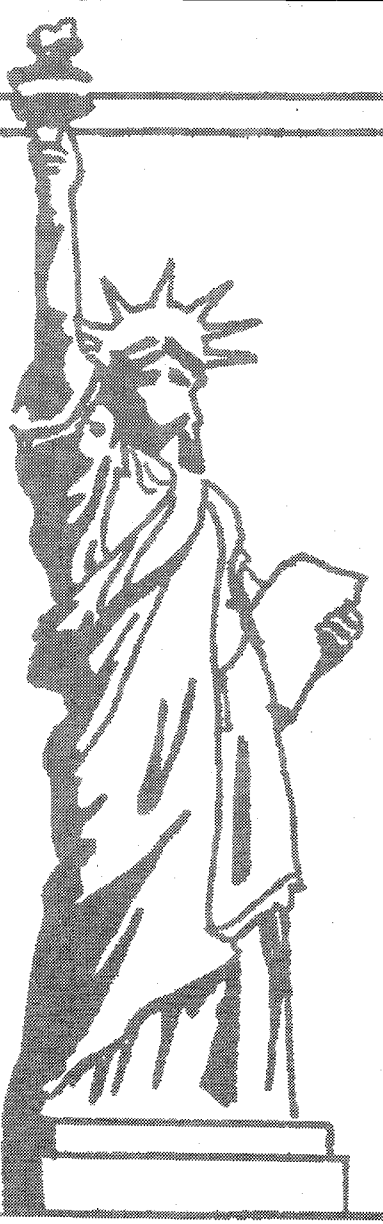

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is about race. It is about racial symbols, the racial past, and the single most painful episode in American history." The media pronounced both snits "eloquent." We think them contrived. And doesn't the Confederacy qualify for multicultural tolerance?

■ It turns out that Ruth Ginsburg, while on the federal bench, was 0 for 57 in hiring blacks, and this in a city where whites are a minority. This is a record that, in anyone but a blue-ribbon liberal, would have set off all the alarm bells at the EEOC, and, if committed by a Republican nominee, would probably have evoked the specter of the Klan. Judge Ginsburg suffered a little momentary embarrassment, but was presumably above the law as all good liberals seem to be, thanks to their kindly hearts. Yet we have no doubt that she will come down hard on employers who do not hire their statistical quota of federally protected minorities.

■ When critics of the National Endowment for the Arts question whether the agency should fund controversial art they are accused of censorship. What, then, to make of House Speaker Foley sending uniformed guards to dismantle an exhibit of NEA art in the Capitol last month? The Christian Action Network sponsored the show to let congressmen and congressional staffers take a gander at what tax dollars from Peoria have wrought: such as the work of photographer Joel-Peter Witkin (four NEA grants, one alone worth $20,000), "Testicle Stretch with the Possibility of a Crushed Face." But after 15 minutes of "art" that might have made Robert Mapplethorpe blush, Mr. Foley shut down the show. These NEA productions, it seems, qualify for Congress's special $ rating—unsuitable for anything other than government funding.

■ The Clinton Administration unveiled a plan to use U.S. air power to prevent the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, from falling to a Serb assault. The sound you hear is of one hand clapping. Sarajevo's fall would indeed be an earthquake in the region and could precipitate a massacre. So the Administration is right to try to prevent it. What is less admirable is the clumsiness and hesitancy of a policy which has permitted the Serbs to absorb more than 70 per cent of the country. A stronger policy earlier—including arming the Bosnians to defend themselves—might have averted the need for this desperate intervention now. What will U.S. forces do *after* they have intervened for this limited objective? If tactical air power proves insufficient, what next? Our fear is that the Administration is now in collusion with the Europeans in their effort to ram a surrender document down the Bosnians' throats—the Munich-style plan to carve Bosnia up into three states, leaving the Muslims with only a rump. Since the U.S. has promised to help police a settlement, we may well find ourselves in the position, down the road, of trying to enforce an unjust settlement against fierce and legitimate Muslim resistance.

■ Japan's Liberal Democratic Party, having lost its parliamentary majority for the first time in 38 years, has been thrust into opposition. The seven smaller rival parties formed a bare majority coalition and nominated 55-year-old Morihiro Hosokawa for Prime Minister. Mr. Hosokawa comes from an eminent aristocratic family. The new team seems reliably pro-U.S. and inclined to expand and open up the domestic economy, which would, of course, ease some of the strains with us. For all the excitement about the change, though, the new government is likely to be short-lived. What the *New York Times* rather ominously called a "rainbow coalition" comprises a wide spectrum of political forces whose compatibility cannot be assumed, except for the common aim of ousting the LDP. The new government's principal mandate is to reform the corrupt electoral system, after which there will presumably be a new election. On the other hand, be warned: Hosokawa used to be the governor of a rural southern province and sees Bill Clinton as some kind of role model—even to the point of being dogged by persistent reports of extramarital affairs. No indication yet, however, of whether his wife is into health care and has a left-wing rabbi as guru.

■ Italy may consider removing its health tax on dead people.

■ Almost every opinion poll on affirmative action finds Americans overwhelmingly opposed to it, yet it has become one of the nation's most entrenched social policies. Why this political dissonance? Affirmative-action policy is made behind the scenes by judges, university administrators, and government bureaucrats rather than voters. Now a move to put a constitutional amendment banning affirmative action on the ballot in California threatens this undis-

Running in '94

As Mr. Clinton strides the quarterdeck,
An albatross still moist around his neck,
While on the shore, Republicans raise hell
By blowing up the lighthouse and the bell,
The Messrs. Riegle, Lautenberg, and Robb
Are torn between saluting like a gob
And maybe going down without a trace,
Or running a nose-thumbing kind of race.

W. H. VON DREELE

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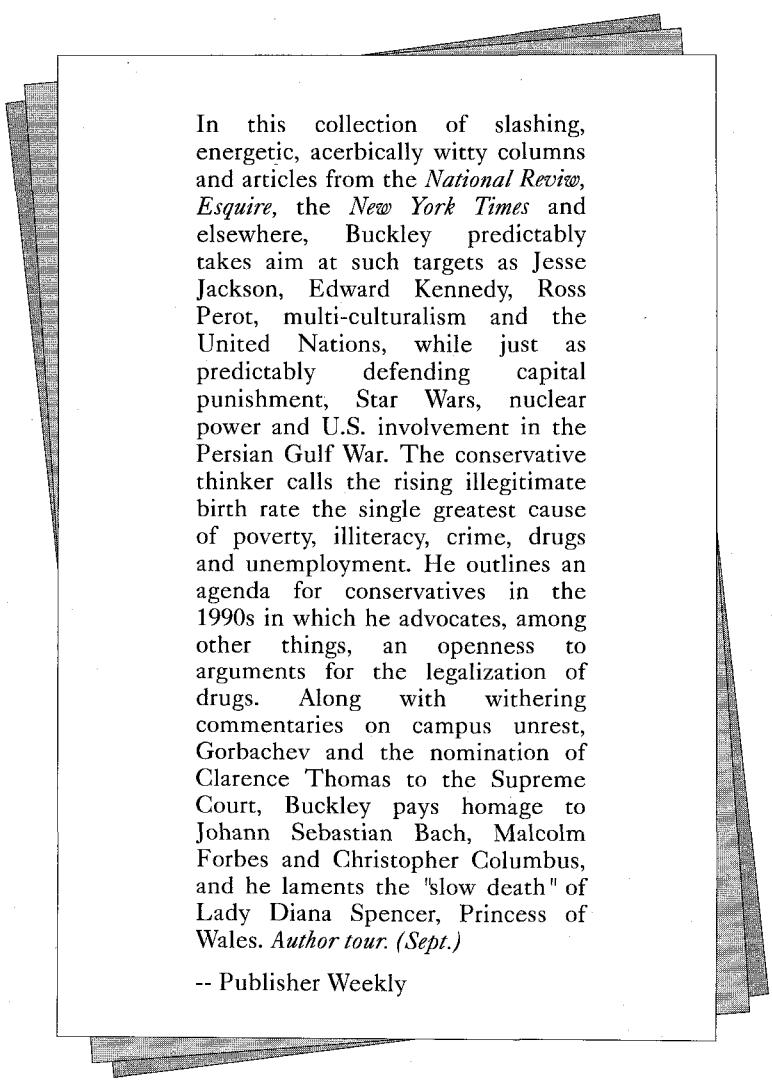
Coming Soon!

HAPPY DAYS WERE HERE AGAIN:

Reflections of a Libertarian Journalist

William F. Buckley Jr. Random, $25



In this collection of slashing, energetic, acerbically witty columns and articles from the *National Reviw, Esquire,* the *New York Times* and elsewhere, Buckley predictably takes aim at such targets as Jesse Jackson, Edward Kennedy, Ross Perot, multi-culturalism and the United Nations, while just as predictably defending capital punishment, Star Wars, nuclear power and U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf War. The conservative thinker calls the rising illegitimate birth rate the single greatest cause of poverty, illiteracy, crime, drugs and unemployment. He outlines an agenda for conservatives in the 1990s in which he advocates, among other things, an openness to arguments for the legalization of drugs. Along with withering commentaries on campus unrest, Gorbachev and the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, Buckley pays homage to Johann Sebastian Bach, Malcolm Forbes and Christopher Columbus, and he laments the "slow death" of Lady Diana Spencer, Princess of Wales. *Author tour. (Sept.)*

-- Publisher Weekly

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turbed existence in the shadows. The amendment—the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI)—would forbid conferring or denying preferential treatment on the basis of race to any student or prospective student in the state public-education system, to any firm or individual in any matter concerning public contracting, or to any employee or prospective employee in any matter concerning public employment. (Thought this all was taken care of back in 1964, huh?) The amendment doesn't touch current protections against discrimination, it just extends them to all Californians (leaving amendment opponents to explain why *they* support discrimination). Like the 1970s tax revolt that first stirred in California, CCRI taps a common sense disregarded by the political class—at its own risk.

■ Hollywood knows a hot property when it sees one. Susan Faludi's book *Backlash* is such an item and, to prove it, has been popping up, in what amounts to unpaid product-placement ads, in films such as *Indecent Proposal* and *The Night We Never Met*. You'll see it, if you look, on a bookshelf or night table. It's referred to in passing by a character in *Sleepless in Seattle*. Movie-industry feminists have cottoned to the book and its argument that, since the early Eighties, there has been a "backlash," in the media and in entertainment, against liberated women. Miss Faludi blames Ronald Reagan and offers as a typical example the film *Fatal Attraction*, in which Glenn Close plays a career woman who goes crazy. But in an article in the journal *Society*, Professor Stanley Rothman and two colleagues point out that anybody can take a couple of movies and "prove" absolutely anything about dominant trends in moviemaking. Unlike Miss Faludi, Mr. Rothman et al. took the trouble to study systematically the top-grossing hundred movies since 1946, rating each according to a standardized formula. Their conclusion: no backlash. In the most popular films of the past decade women have been portrayed in a variety of highly untraditional roles, with overwhelming approval of the filmmakers. For example: of women appearing in business occupations, 73 per cent are portrayed in a positive way, compared to only 30 per cent of men. In general, the authors found, "women in previously elite, male jobs are less likely to be villains than men in similar positions." The same goes for women with leading roles in violent action pictures. Hollywood views a woman with a sawed-off shotgun as a positive role model. Any perceived backlash "exists only in the minds of those who assert it is so, either because they have not fully achieved what they wish to achieve or because they are attempting to rally their troops (or troupes) for further efforts."

■ Some sixty witches, speaking for "any denomination," marched in Arkansas to promote religious liberty and to denounce intolerance. This certainly poses an intriguing new challenge to People for the American Way, the ACLU, and others who have sued orthodox religion out of schools and public life: Can they discriminate against their own embattled witch minority? Dare they? We will watch with interest to see what tactics the witches adopt if peaceable assembly fails.

■ The Houston-based Freedom Exchange plans to bring ten thousand budding Russian entrepreneurs to the U.S. to work here for a month. The first-hand encounter with capitalism, the thinking goes, will help the Russians build a vibrant market economy back home. As Russian aid, the program is unassailable—its cost is measured in volunteer hours rather than billions of dollars, and its benefits can't be derailed by a bureaucrat. Those interested in participating, by hosting a Russian in their home or putting him to work in their business, can call 800-737-9688 for more information.

■ *Elle* magazine recently ran a story on a group of "immortalists" in Arizona, who intend to live forever through "cellular awakening." But there was a hitch: one of the immortalists quoted in the piece proved to have died nine months before. "We went over everybody's name" with the group, the managing editor said, "and they never said anything about it." Next: How to Pick Up Girls When You're 12,000 Years Old. (Success guaranteed, or your money back!)

Our Town

". . . panders to America's most primitive fears about immigration . . ."—Lucas Guttentag of the ACLU, denouncing President Clinton's July 27 proposals to control illegal immigration.

WE WONDER if Mr. Guttentag can distinguish between a primitive fear and a reasonable anxiety, or if he even admits that the latter category can apply to immigration. If not, he is in good company. For thirty years the entire American establishment, on the Right as well as the Left, has been inclined to interpret any expression of concern about immigration as the primitive sound of suburban drums that herald impending Backlash. That establishment saw no need to examine whether immigration was actually proving advantageous to America, except perhaps to divert or discredit the aforesaid primitive fears. It contented itself with mouthing lofty platitudes about golden doors, melting pots, gorgeous mosaics, and an idea that was more than a nation. As a result immigration has

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gone from a modest benefit to a problem to a crisis.

NATIONAL REVIEW has been increasingly concerned about the extraordinary situation that has been developing since America's borders were opened once again by the 1965 Immigration Act. Last year, we broke with our more complacent conservative brethren by carrying a 14,000-word cover story, "Time to Rethink Immigration?" (available in reprint from *NR*, for $2 each) by Peter Brimelow, himself an immigrant, and a symposium in which Mr. Brimelow debated further with his critics. Recently, conservative columnists George Will and Don Feder were both generous enough to cite these stories in their own rethinking of immigration.

Now the Washington establishment, in the form of President Clinton, Vice President Gore, Attorney General Reno, and an honor guard of congressmen from both parties, has appeared at a press conference to certify that it's finally OK to talk about immigration—albeit ineffectually (see below). We take the opportunity to define our position more precisely.

The 1965 Immigration Act, and its amplifications in 1986 and 1990, have been a disaster and should be either repealed or reformed so substantially as to imitate repeal. Essentially, current U.S. law treats immigration as a sort of civil right extended to an arbitrarily selected, but endlessly ramifying, group of foreigners. This favored few—or, more accurately, many—must now be admitted virtually on demand. The interests of America simply do not count.

That must change. American policy should be shaped by the fact that, considered both economically and socially, immigration is a luxury for the U.S., not a necessity. In particular, the criterion of "family reunification" as the basis of an immigrant's right of entry should be interpreted much more strictly—at present it sets off a chain reaction of arrivals by relatives who are distant in every sense—and limited by the overall national quotas. And because such a reform will take time as well as trouble, we should meanwhile impose a temporary moratorium on all immigration, as advocated by such diverse voices as FAIR (the Federation for American Immigration Reform) and California State Senator Art Torres, a Los Angeles Democrat.

We give one cheer for President Clinton's proposals. But they will soon be swept away by events. They are important only as the beginning of a long journey. His small increase in Border Patrol officers still leaves the service at about two-thirds the strength that Congress authorized, but never funded, in its 1986 and 1990 legislation. (Unfortunately, Mr. Clinton did not adopt Senator Dianne Feinstein's proposal to finance Border Patrol expansion by a user fee on border crossings—ominously, one theory is that he was afraid to upset the Mexican government.) His speeding up the asylum process at airports will reduce the scandal whereby thousands of claimants had to be released on their own recognizance, mostly never to reappear (cf. "The New Jet Set," by Ira Mehlman, *NR*, March 15). But the flow will simply be diverted—the speed-up does not apply to the great majority who seek asylum *after* entering the U.S. illegally. And the principle of asylum remains unquestioned, although the plain truth is daily getting plainer that the U.S. cannot be the lifeboat of the world.

Above all, however, President Clinton did not address the problem of *legal* immigration. Indeed, he specifically celebrated legal immigration with the usual resounding clichés ("Keeping the rainbow and the melting pot of America going and growing and enriching and strengthening this country"). Yet, while illegal immigration is certainly a crisis in areas like Southern California, legal immigration is much larger still. The net increase of illegal immigrants in the country is estimated at some 200,000 to 300,000 annually. But legal immigrants, refugees, and asylees verged on one million last year. And, because most legal immigrants come here under the family reunification provisions, this inflow is out of control too.

Senator Barbara Boxer made a painful point in commenting on Mr. Clinton's proposals: "Compared to President Bush, it's an enormous step." Tragically, this is true. Had the professedly pragmatic Bushies paid any attention to this issue at all—and they had only to listen to what primary challenger Pat Buchanan was saying—they would still be lolling about in government limousines.

There is a vital lesson to be learned here. Because liberals control the political culture so completely, the "moderate" Republican instinct to concede issues of principle and contest only details means the party will be endlessly whipsawed by the Democrats. Thus, "moderate" Republicans, unthinkingly accepting the liberal smear that any questioning of immigration was "nativist" and "racist," have eschewed the issue—only to find that a Democratic President is now stealing it, without (needless to say) suffering serious punishment in the press. Republican lawmakers should remember this while trying to pluck up courage to oppose affirmative action. (They

Divine Intervention

That sucking sound the other day
Was not Miss Muffit chewing whey,
But Democrats, who rolled on Ban
When Rostenkowski hit the fan
And sent a tremor through their ranks
That still has Gingrich giving thanks.

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should also remember that it is Senator Kennedy who has talked openly about immigration's rapid shifting of the American ethnic balance—both when predicting, wrongly, that the 1965 legislation would have no effect, and when initiating the 1986 revision on the ground that it would redress the unintended ethnic consequences of the 1965 Act.)

However, in the case of the immigration crisis, Mr. Clinton is fatally limited by his party's internal contradictions. The Democrats have become a coalition of self-conscious minority pressure groups. Most of the leaders of these groups, often contrary to the opinions of the minorities they "represent," are inextricably committed to immigration for many reasons, such as a desire to increase their own numbers or an increasingly ill-concealed aversion for the American majority.

Which means that the Republic must be saved by Republicans. It is up to Republicans to advocate something like an unforgeable Social Security card as a *de facto* identity card, required for a job. Without that the illegal population cannot be controlled. (Our libertarian friends won't like this. We suggest they concentrate their efforts on repealing the federal income tax, a far more serious intrusion on privacy and freedom.) It is up to Republicans to explore ideas such as reinstituting some version of the *bracero* guest-worker program, abolished at the behest of labor unions although it satisfied capitalists' blind desire for cheap labor without dumping permanent costs on society at large.

Let us repeat: This will be a long journey. It took more than thirty years before immigration was brought under control in 1925, the last time America's nationhood appeared to be threatened with Balkanization. That led in turn to the four-decade pause that permitted the assimilation of earlier arrivals—and the continued evolution of a distinctive American ethnicity encompassing all.

That evolution was a great historical achievement—one that perhaps should encourage Mr. Guttentag of the ACLU to remember what the "A" in his organization's acronym stands for.

Taxed and Spent

AT THE TIME of this writing, President Clinton and Congress have just finished crafting their five-year Dr. Kevorkian budget plan. Congressional Democrats have placed the gun against the temple of the U.S. economy, and it's our guess that by the time you receive this magazine, they will have pulled the trigger. It seems that gridlock has abandoned us just when we need it most.

The one minor virtue of this Clinton deficit-reduction package—and we use that term loosely—is that from the moment the President unveiled it in February, it was never even remotely a close call. This budget is devoid of even a single redeeming feature. We can be reasonably certain that it will not reduce federal red ink, if only because its prototype, Richard Darman's 1990 budget deal, did not reduce the deficit, but nearly doubled it.

The plan attempts to attack the deficit through traditional liberal channels: defense cutbacks and massive redistributionist tax hikes. The defense cuts slash military spending to below the levels of the Carter years, when America depended on a hollow Army and Navy. If history is any guide, the income-tax rate increase aimed at the nation's most productive citizens will dampen investment, reduce national savings, slow business and job creation, and most importantly will fail to add a penny of revenues to the federal Treasury. The White House assumes that these two provisions will somehow create eight million jobs over the next four years. But there aren't even any left-wing economic theories—to the best of our knowledge—which say that defense cutbacks and record tax increases lead to more employment. As Hudson Institute economist Alan Reynolds puts it: "The unemployed might as well just assume they have jobs."

One of the most deceitful White House claims about this budget plan is that there is one dollar in net spending cuts for every dollar in tax increases. Even Republicans are over-generous when they charge that there are three dollars of taxes for every dollar of net spending cuts. The truth is that even with drastic defense reductions, there are zero dollars of net spending cuts in this package. None. Zilch. In fact, eligibility for runaway entitlements—including Food Stamps, home energy subsidies, the earned-income tax credit, and Medicaid—is *widened* under this bill. Hence, in 1994 our $1.5-trillion federal budget will *rise* by $65 billion more. In 1995 it will *rise* by another $62 billion. By 1998 the budget will be $300 billion larger than it is today. What is depressing is that the Clintonites genuinely perceive this as a triumph for fiscal restraint.

Empowering Jack Kemp

Whether it's the battery
  Or trouble with the points,
Kemp's jalopy isn't what
  One normally anoints
For a race requiring
  Acceleration that
Roars ahead from standing stops
  In 15 seconds flat.

W. H. VON DREELE

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Inside the fantasyland of Washington there is always a degree of detachment from reality when these kinds of historic economic decisions are made—as if nothing more than a political game has been played out. Sadly, this is no game: real people, hundreds of thousands of them, will lose real jobs, in real towns all over America. When Bill Clinton promised to reverse the policies of the Reagan era, for once he was being entirely truthful.

Our post-mortem on this dreadful budget package is to repeat what Representative Dick Armey of Texas told his colleagues in Congress last month: "If you're a Democrat and you vote for this package, I have two words of advice: Run scared. For my colleagues who vote against this package, my advice is: Buy gold."

ERM, R I P

THE DECISION to let European currencies float in a 15 per cent band signals the effective end of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism. Good riddance. The economies of France and other countries have suffered enough for the honor of having their currencies tied to the Mark. The Bank of France tried gamely to support the franc, but eventually too many speculators concluded that, even in France, sanity must prevail.

A system of fixed exchange rates can bring some temporary benefits in the periods when economies are in sync and nations are willing to coordinate their economic policies. But it's hard, indeed impossible, to keep a pegged-rate system intact when governments follow divergent economic policies, or when their inflation rates differ, or when the economic fundamentals change in some way. Since 1990 Germany has been obsessed with the inflationary consequences of its reunification. Britain and France, meanwhile, have needed a looser monetary policy to stimulate recovery. With exchange-rate changes ruled out by ERM, the burden of adjustment fell entirely on the domestic economy: France, Britain, Italy, Spain, and other countries have endured severe recessions to keep their currencies aligned with the Mark. Britain, having bailed out of ERM last year, is now getting economic growth. France is likely to follow.

There is a great irony here. Supporters of the Maastricht Treaty dream of a day when all Europe will use a single currency managed by a European central bank. But as Milton Friedman pointed out in these pages three years ago when enthusiasm for the ERM was at its most detached from reality: "In Europe, the obvious choice for a single central bank would be the Bundesbank . . . that would require eliminating the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Bank of Italy, and so on, or converting them into administrative branches of the Bundesbank. A possible alternative is the Bank of International Settlements, which would require eliminating the Bundesbank as well. It is hard to regard either of these possibilities as a serious option. The hope that a system of national central banks linked by pegged and managed exchange rates can prove a waystation to a truly unified currency seems to me an utter mirage."

Elites love these bogus utopias. Politicians who value their national identities—and their jobs—should beware.

War Powers Resolution, R I P

ONE BIT of good news out of Somalia: the demise of the War Powers Resolution. Enacted twenty years ago over President Nixon's veto, it attempted to impose a sixty-day limit on military actions abroad unless authorized by Congress. In Somalia, the Clinton Administration has informed Representative Benjamin Gilman that the Resolution does not apply, since U.S. forces in Somalia are involved only intermittently in military action. This is an argument that the congressional Democrats fiercely rejected when President Reagan invoked it in Lebanon. (By this standard, of course, World War II might have fallen outside the scope of the Resolution since Pearl Harbor, Midway, D-Day, and the Battle of the Bulge all lasted less than sixty days.)

On the Hill, Democrats have reflexively introduced bills to "authorize" the involvement in Somalia. But different versions of the bill passed the House and Senate, and Senator Mitchell is making no effort to push it to a conclusion—partly so as not to challenge his reluctant President, partly for fear of losing a floor vote as the Somalia adventure becomes a political liability. Thus, as fighting intensifies, the War Powers Resolution is ditched by the party that invented it. It's a precedent that the next Republican President will cheerfully embrace.

Mr. Engler's Education

ONE OF the more creatively conservative governors has been John Engler of Michigan. This characteristic was never better on display than when he called the bluff of Michigan Democrats frustrated at being (correctly) portrayed by Engler's Republicans as insufficiently enthusiastic about property-tax relief. Determined not to be one-upped by the governor on tax cuts, Democrats

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proposed (ha, ha) a 100 per cent reduction in school property taxes. Mr. Engler, refusing to blink, allowed as how this might not be such a bad idea, and will sign the bill August 19.

The state is now in the position of recreating its entire educational financing system from scratch. Governor Engler is committed to school choice, and the betting is that this will be a integral part of any new system. The betting also is that any new revenue source will raise significantly less than the repealed property tax. The powerful Michigan Education Association is furious about the gamesmanship of its Democratic retainers in the legislature.

Michigan now has the opportunity to institute something beyond the kind of marginal educational reforms and experiments to which other states have been limited. Democrats will pressure Engler to restore the status quo ante by blaming him for delays in re-establishing Michigan's education system. The MEA will do the same through media images of

RIGHT DATA

The New Math

IN FEBRUARY President Clinton claimed his program would cut the deficit by $500 billion in four years. The number stuck. We now know, however, that the Clinton Administration was the first to use gross rather than net numbers in its budget presentation. The $500-billion figure did not subtract the $170 billion in new spending and tax cuts the President was simultaneously proposing. Eventually an additional year—1998—was tacked onto the plan to achieve the $500-billion net target.

In reality the entire concept of deficit "reduction" is suspect. The Administration's 1994 budget, for example, forecasts a modest decline in the deficit, from $322 billion this year to $250 billion in 1998. But most of this would have occurred anyway, the result of Social Security surpluses built into current law. When you net out Social Security, the deficit in 1998 becomes $341 billion, the same as last year's amount:

THE CLINTON PLAN
($Billions)

	Revenues	Outlays	Deficit	Deficit ex Social Security	National Debt
1992	$1,091	$1,381	$290	$341	$2,999
1993	1,146	1,468	322	367	3,304
1994	1,251	1,515	264	323	3,574
1995	1,328	1,574	247	312	3,827
1996	1,413	1,625	212	288	4,053
1997	1,476	1,690	214	297	4,294
1998	1,531	1,781	250	341	4,575

Source: OMB.

Under the Clinton plan federal spending would increase by an average of 3.9 per cent per year between 1993 and 1998, or twice the projected rate of inflation. The reconciliation bill is unlikely to alter this rate of growth. As a result the "largest deficit reduction package in history" will be accompanied by a whopping $1.0 trillion rise in federal debt over the next five years.

Another widely accepted claim is the 1 to 1 balance between spending cuts and tax increases. In Mr. Clinton's equation revenues from higher fees and excise taxes, stepped-up IRS enforcement efforts, and, most notably, the sharp increase in the tax on Social Security benefits are counted as "spending cuts." The Administration also pretends that defense cuts that have been in the pipeline for years are actually Mr. Clinton's, and that the projected reduction of debt service from lower interest rates is the result of presidential action. When the smoke and mirrors are cleared away, tax hikes outweigh spending cuts by a margin of 15 to 1, according to the Heritage Foundation.

On the tax side, the broad-based energy tax, for example, is scored as a $72-billion revenue increase over the next five years. This figure ignores the tax's projected economic impact: 500,000 jobs lost, and a 1 per cent reduction in GNP. The resulting loss in payroll, personal-income, and corporate taxes will reduce net energy-tax revenue to a mere $5 billion per year, according to the Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation.

Equally questionable is the more than $100 billion in revenues attributed to raising the top personal-income-tax rate. Taxpayers are skilled at turning taxable income into non-taxed perks, deferring compensation, or simply working less. Martin Feldstein has shown that even a 5 per cent reduction in taxable income will mean a net reduction in taxes paid.

Fanciful tax estimates are not new. In its euphoria following the 1990 budget agreement, the CBO predicted that the deficit would plunge to a mere $29 billion by 1995. Since then the CBO has repeatedly lowered its revenue projections by amounts that now total more than $100 billion per year.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

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Engler spoiling the apple on the teacher's desk. The cause of educational reform requires that the governor not flinch and that he insist on genuine school choice—yes, including the possibility of Afrocentric private schools in Detroit. Leadership today may be nationally noticed in 1996.

Trial and Error

REVIEWING documents uncovered since the fall of the Soviet Union, Israel's Supreme Court overturned the conviction of John Demjanjuk, the retired Cleveland autoworker, as Ivan the Terrible, guard at the Treblinka death camp. It transpired that camp guards examined by the Soviets after World War II had said that the Ivan of Treblinka was a man named Ivan Marchenko. Despite the testimony of Treblinka survivors that Demjanjuk was Ivan, the Israeli court, acknowledging doubt, freed him. But as we went to press, the case was still not concluded: the government had ten days to decide whether to prosecute him for having been a guard at other death camps.

Should Demjanjuk be tried for other offenses which, though less ghastly than the personal sadism of Ivan, would nonetheless make him an accomplice in the Nazi machinery of genocide? Our best judgment in a difficult matter is that he should not. It seems likely that Demjanjuk was an accomplice in such crimes. But the documents that helped secure his deportation from the United States and his initial conviction were flawed, since the Soviets had withheld exculpatory evidence. Moreover, U.S. authorities may have knowingly withheld some evidence from the defense. The initial Israeli trial, which should have been confined to the question of Demjanjuk's identity, was in effect an historical reenactment of the Holocaust, the iniquity of which was not at issue. It is hard to believe that this did not prejudice the case. Given these official errors, the case against Demjanjuk has been tainted. This trial has also shown the risk of relying on eyewitness testimony decades after an event; would the risk be any smaller in a second trial?

Patrick J. Buchanan doubted the evidence all along, and was excoriated as "a defender of Nazi war criminals," when he was in fact a defender of someone charged—falsely—with particular war crimes. It is disingenuous of his critics to argue now that because Demjanjuk may perhaps have committed other crimes, then Mr. Buchanan deserves no credit in the matter. He could not possibly have foreseen all eventualities when he pointed out an apparent injustice. If Dreyfus had proved to be an embezzler, Zola's defense of him against the charge of treason would still have been valid. Mr. Buchanan deserves double credit for persisting, in the teeth of calumny, with his attempt to ensure that justice was done.

All in all, the Israeli Supreme Court deserves congratulations for overturning a conviction on which the government and Israeli public opinion had placed such importance. It seems likely this will be the last great trial resulting from the Holocaust. Its original purpose, in addition to determining the individual guilt or innocence of Demjanjuk, was to remind the world of those horrors. The Supreme Court's decision has given it a new significance: that the rule of law must not be sacrificed to even the most justified popular indignation.

Margit von Mises, R I P

MARGIT HERZFELD, a successful actress and play translator, had not heard of Ludwig von Mises when they met at a dinner party by Felix Kaufmann, the science historian. "What impressed me," she later wrote in *My Years with Ludwig von Mises*, "were his beautiful, clear blue eyes, always concentrated on the person to whom he talked, never shifting away. . . . The next day, when my hosts told me he was considered . . . [the] greatest living mind in Austria, it gave me quite a shock. He seemed so unpretentious and simple, so easy to talk to." Mises, a confirmed bachelor, was impressed as well: he sent her red roses and a dinner invitation.

"If you want a rich man, don't marry me. I am writing about money, but will never have much of my own," Mises warned her when he proposed. Indeed, he was a poorer man by the time of the wedding, which took place in Geneva: the Nazis had entered Vienna, ransacked his library, and destroyed his papers. Ludwig and Margit fled across France just ahead of Hitler's armies. They finally reached New York in August 1940, with no income, no books, no home, and few employment prospects. Mises had to learn to write in a new language; they moved five times in their first year. "If it were not for you," he told her, "I would not want to live any more."

Henry Hazlitt and Lawrence Fertig eventually arranged a privately funded appointment at New York University; the Miseses settled in and six years later became American citizens. The stories from their American years—dinners, seminars, mountain-climbing—are now legendary. And in America Ludwig wrote—and Margit typed, proofed, and otherwise midwived—the thousands of manuscript pages of *Human Action*, the most important defense of market economics ever written.

After Ludwig's death, Margit became what Murray Rothbard called a "one-woman Mises industry." On the hundredth anniversary of his birth, I ap-

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proached her with the idea of an institute dedicated to her husband and his ideas. Calling it a "dream come true," she agreed to chair the institute, and gave me wise counsel, as she did to many others.

Now her work is ended; Margit von Mises died in New York City on June 25 at the ago of 102. The ideas of freedom, which she worked so hard to advance, live on. —LLEWELLYN H. ROCKWELL JR.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have never written to NATIONAL REVIEW before, but a letter by a young man of 13 in your May 24 issue prompts me. I didn't know such young people still existed. I am a teacher at the high-school level and believe me, he is rare.

I hope that you sent him your best picture *and* went to see him. Thanks for printing Steven Stryer's letter; maybe, just maybe, I'll get a student in class like him this year.

Sincerely,
Ada L. Newton
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Miss Newton: We had several letters questioning the age of Master Steven Stryer. Herewith an invitation to him—to send us *his* picture. Cordially,
WFB

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I got a real kick out of the letter from Steven Eric Stryer. It struck me for two reasons: First, like young Steven, I can remember writing to you 12 years ago, as a college freshman, and asking for an autographed poster. You answered by letting me know that the poster I requested was no longer available and you sent me an autographed photo instead (which to this day adorns my office), noting that "this will get you in quite enough trouble." It's funny how now it seems a new generation of Bill Buckley fans is emerging. I'm getting old!

Secondly, I think Steven's hard work to earn the money to subscribe to NATIONAL REVIEW should be rewarded. Therefore, I have enclosed $57 which I would like you to apply to Steven's subscription. During my college years, when my subscription to NATIONAL REVIEW ran out, I wrote to you that I couldn't afford to renew, and you promptly gave me a gift subscription. Having profited from the greedy Eighties, I can now afford not only my own subscription, but this small gift for Steven. All these good works, and without the help of a government program!

As always,
Michael S. Guarnieri
Stamford, Conn.

"I always wondered what my obituary would say."

Dear Mr. Guarnieri: Now that was a hell of a nice thing to do. We are crediting Master Steven's account. Cordially,
WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Having just read your newest piece on feminist assaults on the English language, I am compelled to call to your attention—on the odd chance it escaped your notice—the attack on the Latin language by two presumably journalist persons—Jane Mayer and Jill Abramson—in the May 24 *New Yorker*. In their "review" of David Brock's Anita Hill book, one finds the astonishing solecism "*ad feminam*," a rampantly sexist misconstruing—a Latinist must try to imagine—of *ad hominem*, a classically gender-free usage whose meaning is likely opaque to those whose dangerous sips from the spring are probably confined to a quick, illiterate glance into a freshperson's *Little Latin Grammar and Vocabulary*.

Abyssus abyssum vocat.

Sincerely yours,
Bernard Hassan
Albuquerque, N.M.

Dear Mr. Hassan: Hmm. I agree it's not right, but if you're going to reject gender-neutral uses in English, why can't you do it in Latin? Or is this indeed a case of *abyssus abyssum invocat*? Slightly different from your version. Mine is taken from *Amo Amas Amat*, and under the above I read, "one misstep leads to another. A warning, literally 'hell calls hell,' in the Psalms of David and a typically Roman maxim as well. In *The Screwtape Letters* C. S. Lewis said: 'The safest road to Hell is the gradual one—the gentle slope, soft underfoot, without sudden turnings, without milestones, without signposts.' We can easily see that the first cigarette, the first drink of whisky, the first step down any inviting path, is difficult to prevent, yet we must always be on guard: *Abyssus abyssum invocat.*"
Cordially, **—WFB**

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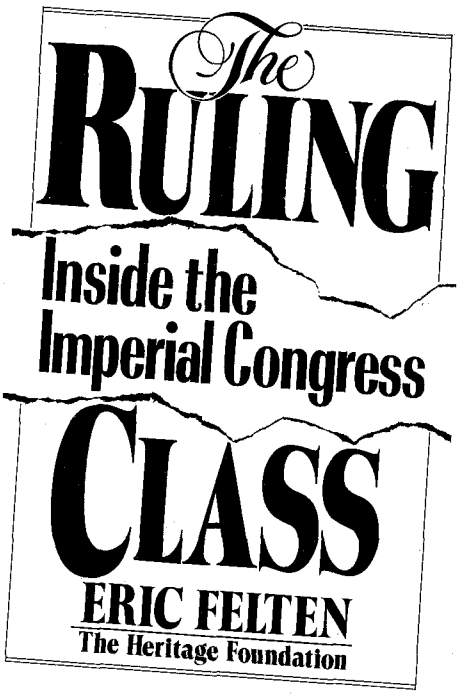

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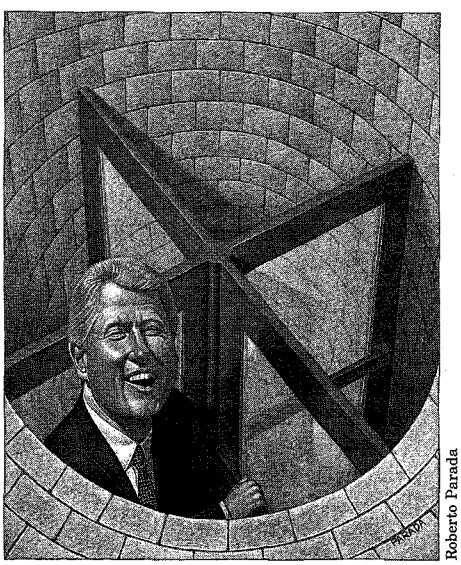

Roberto Parada

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WHENEVER Bill Clinton has gotten in trouble as President, he has returned to the ideas and devices that worked in his campaign. In trouble over the emphasis on gays in the military during his first weeks in office, he suddenly started talking about welfare reform, though he had no proposal on that issue and still doesn't. He has lately started talking it up again. Heading to Tokyo for a G-7 summit that might have made him look like the globetrotting George Bush, neglecting the economic plight of Mr. and Mrs. America, he stopped in San Francisco to call for a worldwide jobs summit in the United States. Once in Tokyo, Mr. Clinton and his lieutenants missed no chance to say that the whole meeting was about jobs in America. Back in Washington, with the House–Senate conference on his economic plan getting under way, he reconstituted the "war room" that helped direct his campaign, this time to run the offensive for his budget. Mr. Clinton is widely viewed in Washington as a man who learns quickly from his successes and failures, and those of others. But his campaign has repeatedly gotten him in trouble as President, and returning to campaign mode will almost certainly do so again.

There has been much speculation about why Mr. Clinton never had the customary honeymoon with the Washington media. Some have blamed it on supposedly hard-boiled regulars in the White House press corps seeking to prove they could be just as rough on a Democrat as they had been on George Bush. Another theory has it that the newcomers to the White House press room who got there via covering Mr. Clinton's campaign were determined to prove that they, too, could be tough. There has even been some outraged finger-pointing from liberals who have now determined that the press corps they cheered on during the previous 12 years has become a cynical lot hopelessly preoccupied with such trivial matters as travel-office firings and presidential haircuts. Some have even argued that the President's personal aloofness toward reporters and the high-handedness of his spokesmen, who closed off the press secretary's office, infuriated the pampered press, which then took out its anger on Mr. Clinton. This stuff is fun to talk about, but it has little to do with the reality of what happened to Mr. Clinton in his early months in office.

Mr. Clinton came to power burdened by far more, and more specific, promises than any President in recent memory. He found it necessary to start breaking them even before he took office. He reversed himself on Haitian refugees, on a middle-class tax cut, and on cutting the deficit by half in his first term. These were not pledges buried in the small print of position papers. These were major commitments, made repeatedly and with scathing accompanying criticism of the Bush Administration.

Mr. Clinton made it worse by trying in some instances to claim he hadn't made the promises, or that they weren't important. Confronted, for example, by his abandonment of the middle-class tax cut, he said on January 15, "From New Hampshire forward, for reasons that absolutely mystify me, the press thought the most important issue in the race was the middle-class tax cut." Well, one reason reporters—not to mention voters—might have thought that was the New Hampshire TV ad that showed him describing his economic plan. His first words: "It begins with a middle-class tax cut." Not even the most sympathetic reporter could get around that. The result was a spate of merciless stories, all against a backdrop of questions about Mr. Clinton's character left over from the campaign. The most prominent of these was the sordid Gennifer Flowers matter, which many journalists thought should not have become an issue. But they also thought that once it did, Mr. Clinton lied about it.

In his first weeks in office, he immediately plunged into controversy over a promise he did try to keep—to lift outright the ban on gays in the military, something he simply lacked the political leverage to pull off. One might think that the lesson of all this would be clear: that one should be careful with promises because they can come due when you can't pay up.

The hiring of onetime Reaganite David Gergen as a senior advisor was widely hailed as a sign Mr. Clinton was learning from his mistakes. But Mr. Gergen is not known as the Sultan of Spin, as *Vanity Fair* called him, for nothing. At the Tokyo summit, Gergen presided over a sales blitz for the President and his achievements that was stupendous, even by the high standards of summit puffery set by previous Presidents. Reporters hardly dared leave their seats in the briefing room lest they miss any of the unending parade of officials who came to tell them how swimmingly it was all going. On July 9, the summit's final day, Gergen and his briefers turned up three times in the afternoon and eve-

Mr. Hume is chief White House correspondent for ABC News.

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Fat Cats' secrets could save 'ordinary folks' a ton of money on taxes, if they only knew about them...

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I found out about all this from a guy named Ted Nicholas, and I can't wait to tell you about him! First—what they call a "rhetorical" question: if somebody, a true expert, could show you how to legally reduce the taxes you pay, just by filling out a few forms or even by making one toll-free, 7 minute phone call . . . would that get your attention?

I'm going to prove to you that just such an opportunity is real. Just carefully read the rest of this one-page message.

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Anyone can incorporate

Get this—about 60,000 people incorporate each month!—and many are 'one man' spare time businesses, salesmen and women, engineers, freelancers, even people who "convert" their jobs to independent contractor situations. Ted has helped thousands incorporate and helps more everyday. Now here's why all these people are jumping on this bandwagon.

How you benefit

Imagine having all your family's medical and dental bills paid for, tax-free. Owning two family cars, tax-free. Hobby expenses paid for, tax-free. A boat, a motor home. Going to a good restaurant and writing up to 80% of the tab off your taxes. (The couple next to you may be doing just that—while you pay "full boat"!) How about tax-free college tuition reimbursements for your kids? Zero interest loans? Life, health insurance, tax-free! A much better way to save for retirement than IRA. Once you know the rules, you can visit great vacation places, take your wife, even kids, and take a big chunk of it as a tax deduction. Legally. You can even use a hunk of your house payments, utility and phone bills as new tax deductions. I'm talking about saving hundreds, maybe thousands of dollars each year!

I know—it sounds like something for "the other guy." Well, I'm an "ordinary guy" here to tell you—these and many more terrific, even shocking tax benefits can be yours too. (You don't have to be a Fat Cat to get in on this anymore.)

And, you can find out all about it at Ted's risk (not yours). So, what is Ted's background? At age 22, he incorporated his first little business and started discovering, mostly by accident, all these amazing benefits. At age 29, he won an award as one of America's outstanding young businessmen and got to meet with the President of the United States! He's since started 22 corporations of his own, each one, by the way, with virtually no investment. Ted is a big believer in free enterprise. He believes in paying his fair share; you and me paying our fair shares—but not more! (The government even encourages people like you and me to incorporate, which is a little known fact. And recent tax reform made this better than ever.)

Victory over lawyers

When Ted first published his book, HOW TO FORM YOUR OWN CORPORATION WITHOUT A LAWYER FOR UNDER $75, 20 years ago, it created a real brouhaha with attorneys. Some called it illegal! But Ted won all those battles. The book is advertised a lot in dozens of magazines, even the "stuffed shirt" Wall Street Journal. Over 1,000,000 copies have been sold. Today, Ted is a respected, highly paid business consultant, author and lecturer. You've probably seen him on T.V.

Proven to work

How can you be sure Ted's advice is right for you? Is legal? The simple proof that Ted's "system" works for people just like you and me, your grown kids, brothers, sisters, buddies, neighbors, everyone—the company Ted founded; a staff of 17 people helping people incorporate everyday; 1,000,000 books sold!; lots and lots of happy customers; 21 years of success. You see, Ted is not talking about some new, untested "idea." He's giving you a solid, proven, legal, safe, simple, guaranteed "system" to dramatically improve your finances, your ability to finally save some money, your lifestyle! (Even accountants and attorneys use Ted's system and services, but most of them never let their clients know it.)

And, when you use Ted's system to incorporate yourself, the easy-to-fill-in, tear-out forms are right there in the book—nothing else to go find or buy; no need to give money to some lawyer! Or you can even call Ted's toll-free service line revealed in the book and do it all right over the phone, in 7 minutes. It is that easy.

You do not need to bring in other people. You can be President, V.P., Secretary, Treasurer all yourself. And you can protect your home, car, savings, "stuff" from lawsuits, bill collectors, risks, even tax collectors by correctly using incorporation. Your corporation gets benefits for you; when it makes money you get it; if it loses money, you can often gain from that too! If "it" gets into trouble "you" don't!

An open mind, a little healthy curiosity—that's the only thing standing between you and real, proven opportunities to keep a lot more of the money you earn "at home."

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Ted recently updated his book HOW TO FORM YOUR OWN CORPORATION FOR UNDER $75. Ted also has an extra free gift for you. As a bonus for ordering now, Ted's going to send you—FREE—an exclusive, newly updated Report called THE INCOME PLAN, which normally sells by itself for $9.95. This plan tells you how to "switch" almost any job into your own corporation and increase your take-home pay by 30% to 40%, without asking for a raise! (Read that again! It's real. And it saves money for your boss too!) This PLAN is perfectly okay with the IRS, and every employee and employer ought to know about it. It also lists 227 often missed ways to reduce your taxes.

No risk offer

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ning. In addition, Mr. Clinton himself held a full-dress news conference that night and was interviewed by each of the four TV networks. Some of what Gergen disclosed was useful detail, but much of it was such stuff as, "The President came back to the hotel just a short while ago, and I think it's fair to say he's in high spirits. He feels that the talks have been going extremely well." According to Gergen, the President's reaction to the summit economic declaration was, "I like it a lot."

The Clinton–Gergen team loudly trumpeted two agreements from the summit. One was a tentative deal among the U.S., the EC, Japan, and Canada on manufactured goods. A "major breakthrough," said trade representative Mickey Kantor. "It means more jobs and higher incomes for our people," said the President. In fact, it means no such thing, unless and until there is a new worldwide trade agreement. While Kantor and other Clinton spokesmen insisted the deal "gives us great confidence" that a new GATT agreement could be reached by year's end, it does nothing to overcome the main obstacle to an agreement: a fight between the U.S. and the EC over agriculture subsidies that's been going on for years. The Administration didn't exactly deny that, but the acknowledgments were buried in the blizzard of claims. Even the normally reserved Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen joined in. "You know," he told the assembled press, "promises to complete the Uruguay Round [of the GATT talks] are standard fare at these summit meetings . . . what distinguishes this summit is that we've moved beyond the promise to the payoff." Bentsen went on to describe a meeting with his G-7 counterparts after the manufactured-goods deal was announced. "The mood was very pleasant," he said, "And if I can sum up a couple of hours of conversation in one word, the word was jobs." At that, the room erupted in laughter.

Similar claims were made for the so-called "framework agreement" between the U.S. and Japan. Bowman Cutter, who led the U.S. negotiating team, was careful to say that the deal represented only "the rules of the game, not the game," that it would change nothing unless specific agreements yet to be negotiated were actually reached. But ten days later, the President was claiming that the Japanese "agreed to reduce their trade surplus with the United States and to be accountable in specific ways for reducing that trade surplus in specific areas. Again, that means more jobs for Americans." Such claims may have bought the Administration a week of favorable coverage back home, but they promise results that depend on agreements that will be extremely difficult to negotiate. If those deals don't come, or are late, the President will be in for another round of stories about promises broken and claims unmet.

Back at the White House the denizens of the "war room" on the budget were busy cranking out sales materials that ranged from the puerile to the preposterous. On July 15, a five-page set of talking points for Democrats declared, in headline-sized type, "HALLELUJAH! Change is Coming." This was to be the message on the Clinton plan. "No matter what form the final legislation takes, the main goals will be accomplished," the memo said. After ticking off some sales points, the document continued, "While you wil doubtless be pressed for details beyond these principles, there is nothing wrong in demurring for the moment on the technicalities." "Your body language, attitude and confidence will be infections," it concluded. "Now go forth and spread the good news."

On July 23, the war room produced what it called a State-by-State Analysis of the President's budget plan. It claimed, as the President has repeatedly said, that the Clinton budget would generate eight million new jobs between 1993 and 1996. (It did not claim that this is any more than would be created without the Clinton plan.) The document went on to state, down to the single digit, how many jobs would be produced in each state. It said Kansas, for example, would get 60,507, Michigan, 28,813, New York, 173,337. The overall claim of eight million jobs was said to be based on an average of three blue-chip econometric forecasts. But there was no indication of how the precise figures for each state were arrived at, beyond the vague explanation that they came from "national projections and state by state labor force growth trends." If you are wondering why the White House continues to make such claims despite their inherent dangers, listen to what the President told Bill Nigut of WSB-TV in Atlanta. Nigut asked him, "Do you not think it may have been a mistake to have tried to put such specific numbers together in an effort to sell this plan?"

"Well, it may have been," replied the President, adding, "frankly, the main reason we did it was to avoid overpromising." □

It's Florio, Stupid

GEOFFREY MORRIS

JERSEY CITY

BRET SCHUNDLER'S inauguration was the place to be one hot July Thursday. Schundler, a white Wall Street Republican, had run for mayor of this poor, largely minority city on a platform of empowerment, and won in a 68 per cent landslide. In attendance at his inaugration were former governors, statewide officials, and Mr. Empower the Inner City himself, Jack Kemp. Also tagging along, evidently hoping to exploit Schundler's enormous popularity, were Democratic Governor Jim Florio, who signed a $3-million "jobs" bill at the podium, and his Republican challenger, Christine Todd Whitman.

Mr. Morris is NR*'s executive editor.*

Mayor Schundler's speech, as it happens, rebuked politicians who imply that signing bills and sending money is the way to treat society's maladies. He went on to pitch his own message of low taxes, safe and clean streets, and an end to welfare and the NEA's lock on public education. In effect he dismissed the governor and took control of the debate about how to save Jersey City. The question from now until November is: Can Christine Whitman do the same?

Mr. Florio, a pugnacious ex-boxer from Brooklyn, likes to joke that many Jerseyites seem to think his first name is "Dump." After making a Bushian tax pledge in his election campaign four years ago, Florio and a Democratic legislature pushed through a disas-

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trous tax hike which doubled higher-end income-tax rates, raised other income-tax rates, and punched up the sales tax. He was hissed and booed by the people; his approval rating slid down to 18 per cent.

The economic results were just what Ronald Reagan would have predicted. Florio's projected $2.8-billion "revenue increase" turned out to be a paltry $700 to $800 million. And in the process, some 300,000 jobs were lost, driving the state's unemployment rate to second-highest in the nation (though it has recently dropped slightly). New Jersey had had a large share of heavy-truck sales in the region; after the sales tax kicked in, sales dropped by about 75 per cent, as out-of-state buyers stayed out of state and locals went out. Businesses closed or fled, leading New Jersey to underperform the anemic national economy for the last two years.

Republicans jumped with partisan joy: Florio clearly had no chance at re-election. Indeed, in the legislative elections halfway through the gubernatorial term, the solid Democratic majority was replaced by veto-proof Republican majorities in both houses. GOP candidates had only to mention the words "Florio" and "taxes" to have voters clicking their lever.

The voters' wrath was rekindled this spring when Mr. Florio's chief of staff and longtime chum, Joseph Salema, had to resign because of allegations that his firm, Armacon Securities (which advises the state on bond investing), had received kickbacks from Merrill Lynch and other houses to steer business their way. And Salema resigned on the very same day the Kennedy family gave Florio its Profile in Courage award, stomping on his moment of glory.

Florio's current campaign strategy is to go on the offensive. Top Gun consultants James Carville and Paul Begala are waging a class war, using Mrs. Whitman's wealth against her, suggesting that her policies are designed to favor the rich. Florio's team will argue that their man made some hard choices early on ("breaking the bad news about the emperor's new clothes," as one aide put it), and thus the state has a solid budget despite the Bush recession. If re-elected Mr. Florio can thus spend his second term fighting for the middle class.

The governor has already toyed publicly with the idea of a middle-class tax cut. Mrs. Whitman responded awkwardly, bemoaning "cynical" election-year politics that offered a tax cut "when," she said, "the money isn't there."

Which is just what Mr. Florio had hoped she would say. This left him on the side of the tax-cutters while she hedged her bets. The Florio camp swooped. Mrs. Whitman is not willing to cut taxes on the middle class after all, they said, and furthermore she can't decide how she wants to govern. As August began, the two were tied in the polls, even though Florio's approval ratings hovered near those of his buddy the President.

Chris Miles

Mrs. Whitman is not helped by the fact that the GOP's veto-proof legislative majorities more or less went along with a Florio budget that raised spending by more than $900 million. This produced an inevitable result: a recent survey indicated that voters felt Republicans would do no better than Florio on tax policy.

Mrs. Whitman hopes to counter these setbacks by making trust an issue. Mr. Florio did, after all, break a clear no-new-taxes pledge. But pols agree she can't simply attack her opponent's record. She must offer clear and explicit proposals for reducing taxes and spending. If she preaches caution and a nuanced approach to cutting taxes, she will appear savvy to some, but others will see her as deceptive: just another rich Republican hoping to ride voter discontent into office and then do—nothing very much.

But Mrs. Whitman has a disturbing talent for being put on the defensive. When attacked last month for meeting with a pro-life state senator, she accused the Florio camp of raising petty issues. That pleased no one. It looked as if she was unwilling to defend a pro-life position while hoping to pick up pro-life votes.

And just last week, media consultant Larry McCarthy was forced to resign from the Whitman camp after just one day on the job. Word got out that Mr. McCarthy was responsible for the allegedly racist Willie Horton ad, which solidified the law-and-order vote for George Bush over Michael Dukakis in 1988. Instead of standing by McCarthy (and legitimately defending the Willie Horton issue), Mrs. Whitman blamed Roger Ailes for the ad. Ailes replied heatedly; but Mrs. Whitman couldn't respond because she had gone on a bike trip in Idaho with no telephone contact. As her staff back home floundered in humiliation, Democrats gloated and continued on the attack.

Those close to her say that in her heart, Christine Whitman wants to roll back the tax hikes, trim government programs, ease the strict gun-control laws, and, well, make New Jersey good again. As one conservative supporter puts it: "She's got good instincts." Her primary campaign supported that notion. Although there were tactical blunders, she hit most of the right buttons, offering a basic conservative economic message. And help may be on the way. The state party has some effective TV and radio spots focusing on the governor's negatives, and Mrs. Whitman has signed up Steve Forbes and Larry Kudlow, two solid economists, who are likely to counsel a rollback in tax rates and provide the arguments to make this move convincing. Practical experience over the last decade has certainly borne out the supply-side case. While cutting tax rates may decrease revenues for the short term, the decrease will be nowhere near as great as the number crunchers predict. What the number crunchers never take into account is the tendency of tax-rate cuts to stimulate the economy, and of tax-rate hikes—like Florio's in 1990—to depress it.

But one state GOP operative fears there are too many chefs in the broth. "There are too many people making too much money" in the Whitman camp, he says: a gaggle of consultants

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Do Intelligent People Worry About Hell?

Mark Twain said he didn't believe in Hell but was afraid he'd go there. Isn't that a problem with atheism and all those godless "isms" — Freudianism, hedonism, Marxism, etc. — that have fascinated apparently intelligent people? You just can't be sure there isn't a God, a Judgment, a Devil, and a Hell.

But isn't all that Heaven-and-Hell stuff a crutch for wimps and neurotics, an insult to one's intelligence?

Actually, there's a revival of interest in religion going on among the intelligentsia. And why not? Intellectuals have bought into every panacea and quack remedy to come down the pike, and are running out of substitutes for the Real Thing. Ostensibly bright people have pooh-poohed Hell, liberated themselves from morality, turned themselves into pooh-bahs, and created a Hell on earth for everyone else. Perhaps it's true that the Devil's cleverest wile is to convince us he doesn't exist.

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and a large staff in addition to Ed Rollins, who, like Carville and Begala on the other side, doesn't come cheap. Mrs. Whitman also quietly and regularly solicits both political and policy advice from Richard Nixon, who as an elder statesman has built an enviable reputation for political savvy. But the Whitman campaign reminds some people of the Bush campaign: too much advice producing too few decisions.

The populist message can be Christine Whitman's if she wants it. She has come out for the term-limits bill that may pass in the fall, and she supports the idea of allowing voter referenda, which will help attract Perot voters. Most importantly, she can lead the rapidly growing chorus on choice and vouchers for public and private schools. If I can send my kids to private schools, she could say, why shouldn't the poor in Jersey City—whose kids receive a lousy education to the tune of $9,000 a year each—be able to do the same? It has taken some convincing, but Bret Schundler and others have started her singing.

If Mr. Schundler he can get his ideas into the campaign of Christine Whitman, there's a good chance that he will be attending *her* inauguration come January. But just as he won through courage, she could lose through timidity. □

The Chairman's Troubles

VIN WEBER

WASHINGTON, D.C.

DON'T call him "Congressman"–no one calls him that. If you're a friend or close associate, he's "Danny" or "Rosty." But to all others, Illinois Representative Dan Rostenkowski is known, deferentially, as "The Chairman."

Chairman, that is, of the House Ways and Means Committee—the powerful tax-writing committee which molds all congressional tax legislation, as well as trade, health care, and welfare law. Do you think Presidents shape tax policy? Wrong. Rosty shapes tax policy. If you're a business that needs a tax break, or an industry association which needs a loophole, you need The Chairman.

Today, however, The Chairman is in trouble. At what should be the apex of his 34-year congressional career—just as he's shepherding the Clinton tax plan through the House–Senate conference—Rostenkowski has come under the ever-expanding cloud of congressional scandal. He is being investigated for allegedly converting some $21,000 in taxpayer-funded office vouchers and campaign checks into cash through fake stamp purchases at the House Post Office.

Rostenkowski has not been formally charged, and he decries the whole affair as a "fishing expedition and political witchhunt." Nonetheless, the allegations are serious enough that he has hired Washington super-lawyer Robert Bennett to represent him, and recently called a Capitol Hill press conference to proclaim his innocence. Rostenkowski told reporters gathered in his Ways and Means Committee hearing room: "I have committed no crime and have engaged in no illegal or unethical conduct." The allegations, he said, are "unfair, false and baseless."

There are three basic schools of thought in Washington on the Rostenkowski affair.

The first, put forth by Rostenkowski's defenders, is that he couldn't have done it—the amount in question is so small, they can't imagine he would risk his whole reputation and political career for it. They point to the fact that, had Rostenkowski retired last year, he could have legally kept the more than $1 million left in his campaign coffers. Would a man who gave up $1 million free and clear, they ask, then turn around and steal a paltry $21,000? "I've known Danny a long time," says former Democratic Party chairman John White, "and I just can't see him sneaking behind the counter at the post office, swapping stamps for cash."

But even a cursory look at Rostenkowski's conduct over the years

Mr. Weber, the former congressman from Minnesota, is co-founder of the new conservative group Empower America.

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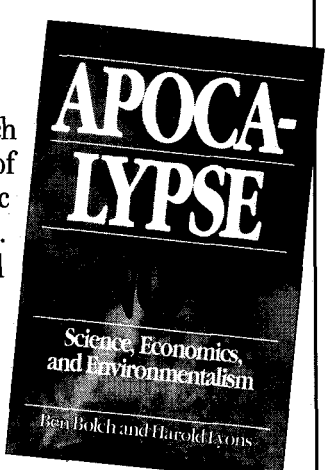

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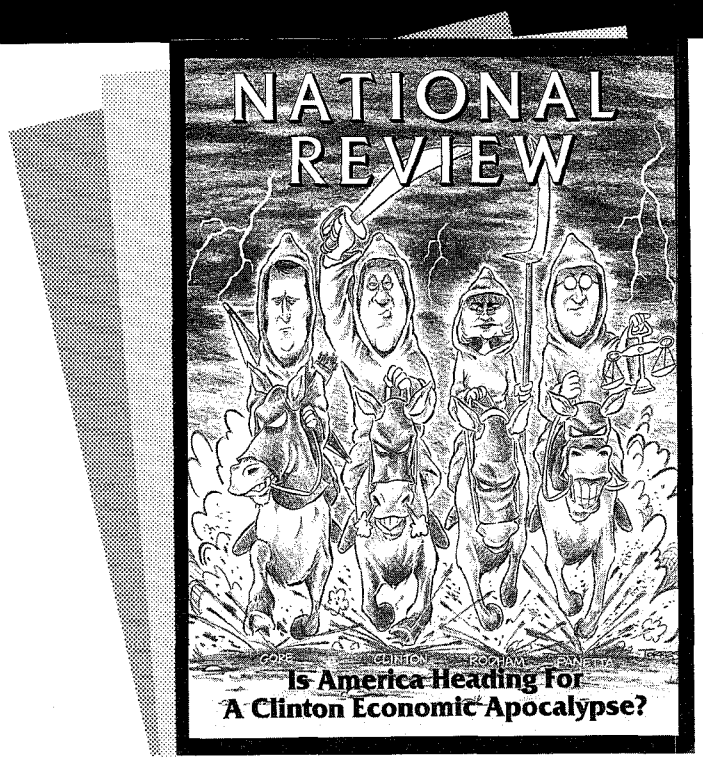

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shows that, if he has not in fact crossed the line of congressional ethics, he has certainly walked close to it. For example, according to a recent investigation by the *Los Angeles Times*, Rostenkowski accepted 167 free trips between January 1, 1987, and December 31, 1991—all paid for by corporations, lobbyists, universities, or charities. Thirty of the junkets were to golf tournaments (Rostenkowski spends an average of one in four days playing golf on someone else's tab). And according to the *Times*, the 167 figure is deceptively low because "it does not appear to count separately some trips that were arranged back to back, with one corporate sponsor paying Rostenkowski's way to one engagement, and another flying him on from there to another event."

In addition to lobbyist-funded junkets, Rostenkowski topped the list of congressmen who accepted honoraria to speak to universities, trade groups, and special interests before the practice was banned in 1991. According to *Congressional Quarterly* (*CQ*) magazine, "in the ten years he was allowed to accept honoraria as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, [Rostenkowski's] take totaled almost $1.8 million." Figures like these led *CQ* to dub Rostenkowski "the King of Honoraria."

Furthermore, according to the *Times*, Rostenkowski skirted the line of impropriety in using campaign funds as well. In 1992, for example, his re-election campaign paid $1,600 in "consulting fees" to five golf pros. And Rostenkowski paid himself and his sisters $73,000 to rent a little-used office in his Chicago home. None of this is necessarily illegal. But Rostenkowski, the *Times* concluded, has "unapologetically hobnobbed with lobbyists and leaders of the industries and interests affected by the activities of the committee he heads . . . [and] pushed right to the edge of the rules when money was involved."

Some argue that Rostenkowski is not representative of Washington today. Like one of the dinosaurs from *Jurassic Park*, he's a powerful giant who throws his impressive weight around; but he's also a creature from a by-gone era—the age of machine politics, when backroom deals were the norm and a little greasing of the palm was considered part of business-as-usual in Washington. But others—chief among them House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich—say Rostenkowski's troubles are just the latest in a series of congressional scandals, part of a general outbreak of corruption in Congress.

Gingrich, who helped bring down former House Speaker Jim Wright over charges of corruption, argues that this kind of conduct is widespread, and lies at the very heart of popular disgust with the national legislature. Indeed the list of senior congressional leaders recently brought down in scandal is a long one. From Speaker Wright, to former House Democratic Whip Tony Coelho, to former California Senator Alan Cranston (the only senator censured in the Keating Five scandal) to Representative Fernand St Germain, former chairman of the House Banking Committee, senior Democrats keep getting caught with their hands in the cookie jar.

D. F. Bach

This kind of conduct has fueled the intense anti-Congress sentiment which characterized the 1992 elections. Since the elections passed, that sentiment has not abated. If anything, it has grown stronger. A recent *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News Poll found that 67 per cent of Americans believe that Congress still "has not gotten the message of reform and ending gridlock"; 60 per cent disapprove of the job Congress is doing; and a scant 23 per cent have a positive view of the institution. Perhaps most strikingly, only 30 per cent think their own congressman deserves to be re-elected.

The Rostenkowski affair adds more fuel to this already powerful anti-Congress fire. And now, on top of Rostenkowski's troubles, it seems another House Speaker may be caught in an ethics controversy. Congressional Republicans may soon ask for an independent inquiry into Speaker Tom Foley's personal finances. In a bold letter to the Speaker, Congressman John Boehner (R., Ohio) and nine other House Republicans recently demanded an explanation of Foley's uncanny luck in the stock market. According to the *Wall Street Journal* and *Roll Call* magazine, Foley has made over $100,000 in profit over the past four years by buying and then quickly selling initial public offerings (IPOs), through the advice of longtime friend and investment banker Peter de Reotth. Congressional Republicans are questioning whether Foley's actions are improper.

The Speaker's success ratio in choosing IPOs has been unusually good—he has made money on 40 out of 42 investments. The general IPO growth index has averaged 12.75 per cent over the past four years. By contrast, Foley's account growth has averaged 87 per cent. Mr. Peter de Reotth has not charged the Speaker any fees for his professional services. De Reotth called his free investment advice "innocent giving," and says that he has favored the Speaker with these lucrative stock deals to make up for the fact that, like Rostenkowski, Foley can no longer collect honoraria.

"We can all remember back when another Speaker of the House tried to skirt House rules by having his friends establish sweetheart deals to provide him with extra income," Boehner said recently. "It's uncanny how similar this situation appears to be." Boehner knows taking on the Speaker of the House is risky business. But, he argues, "How will we ever restore the average American's faith in this institution when elected officials continue to abuse the public trust?"

Foley and Rostenkowski are two of the most powerful men in Congress. And while neither has yet been formally charged, they seem to have clearly violated the spirit of of the public trust—and quite possibly the letter of the law. With them, the pattern of senior congressional leaders coming under the cloud of scandal continues to grow. And public confidence in Congress continues to wane. 1994 could be an interesting year. □

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The Politics of Welfare Reform

THEY HAD A DREAM

But the Sixties dream of ending poverty in America has turned into a nightmare—chaos in the cities, children without fathers, a huge bill for the rest of us. What hope of reform?

TOM BETHELL

ON MAY 10, ABC television correspondent Brit Hume pointed out on the evening news that President Clinton, in trouble with the voters, was on the road again, in Ohio. The President was shown in an auditorium talking about welfare reform, saying what he has already said many times: welfare as we know it should be ended. The audience duly applauded, as it always does on these occasions. In case we hadn't been following the script, Hume jogged our memories. Talk of welfare reform is calculated to lift Clinton in the polls, he said. Since then, the politically opportune nature of Clinton's interest in welfare has been widely noted.

One might conclude that welfare reform will soon be enacted. Plainly it is popular with the voters. Plainly Clinton knows that it is popular. But the conclusion of this article, to put it at the beginning, is that there is not likely to be any welfare reform in the Clinton Administration; certainly not the end of welfare as we know it.

Possibly Congress will pass something that might be labeled welfare reform. But it won't be what Clinton has encouraged us to expect: "two years and out." In fact, one can confidently make this prediction: If new welfare legislation does emerge from Congress, it will be one more *expansion* of the welfare system; perhaps a repeat of 1988, the last time welfare was reformed, under President Reagan.

His support gave that legislation the bipartisan impetus needed to drive it forward to enactment. But with the Democrats now in control, Republicans will be less inclined to suppress their doubts. Reagan turned out to be the social workers' secret weapon. Bob Dole in opposition is less likely to play that role.

The main reason why the law will not be changed in a way that obliges those on welfare to take responsibility for their lives is that the care and maintenance of welfare programs is perhaps the first order of business for liberal activists. The redistribution of income is the cause to which their lives are dedicated (and upon which, in many cases, their jobs depend). Many of them believe that welfare programs should become more generous, not more onerous. Richard P. Nathan, the director of the Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, wrote at the end of 1991 that welfare policy was turning "mean and harsh," imbued with "David Duke's racist spirit." Even as he wrote, welfare rolls were rapidly expanding.

Mr. Bethell, an NR *contributing editor, is a visiting media fellow at the Hoover Institution.*

Charles Murray's Heresy

WELFARE REFORM is important because welfare is the central cause of the mounting chaos in the war-zones that used to be our city centers. This is the thesis of Charles Murray's *Losing Ground* (1984): the rapid expansion of welfare in the 1960s changed the incentives of the poor, making welfare more attractive than entry-level jobs, making unwed motherhood tolerable, making husbands dispensable. This in turn gave rise to the underclass that is progressively ruining urban life. Poverty is not the "root cause" of this underclass. Nor is joblessness. Nor is racism. Sixty years ago, when poverty and unemployment and racism were far more severe than they are today, the cities remained in good shape. The trouble began at a time of unprecedented prosperity, when eligibility for welfare was exploding.

The defenders of welfare rushed to their typewriters when Murray's heresy was promulgated. How dare he say such things about their Model Cities and their Demonstration Projects, their Pilot Projects and their Housing Projects! The real cause of the continuing distress was the niggardliness of the middle class. Robert Greenstein, director of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, came tearing into print in *The New Republic*. The facts didn't bear Murray out! During the 1970s, benefit levels for Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the basic welfare program, had actually dropped because they weren't adjusted for inflation. On Murray's theory, the welfare rolls should have declined, too. Instead, they remained flat.

But, Murray says today, the erosion of AFDC was pretty much offset by increases in other components of the welfare package—housing, Food Stamps: benefits that for some reason are still not counted in determining the pov-

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erty rate. It should also be pointed out that, in 1970, the bad incentives of welfare still had not fully overpowered the good work habits inculcated in earlier generations. Dependency is not something that is acquired overnight. It took a few years for the eligible to realize the government was giving them these benefits with no strings attached—except for the crucial string that, to remain eligible, they would have to continue leading unproductive lives.

Another objection to Murray's thesis was raised by David T. Ellwood, a Harvard professor and the author of *Poor Support*. He is now assistant secretary of HHS with responsibility for welfare reform. Clinton's rhetoric about a time limit for welfare came from Ellwood, who has since made it clear that he thinks single mothers can be taken off welfare only if an extensive package of benefits remains available to them (child support, Medicaid, day care, and so on). In other words, they can be taken off welfare only if they remain on it.

Ellwood objected to Murray as follows: The level of AFDC varies from state to state, and if it's true that young women have children in order to qualify for benefits, one would expect more illegitimacy in high-benefit states, such as California, than in low-benefit states, such as Mississippi. In reality there is very little difference. Murray replied that welfare should be thought of not as something that bribes women to have babies but as something that enables them to do so. When you look at the total package of cash and in-kind benefits, and take into consideration the cost of living (as the General Accounting Office did in a 1978 study), then "poor young women in a stingy AFDC location (New Orleans) and in a generous AFDC location (San Francisco) were looking at nearly identical choices relative to the local economy."

The System Is the Problem

THE PROBLEM is not one of "fraud and abuse." It is not that "welfare queens" receive multiple benefits using fake IDs. The real problem lies in the lawful operation of the system, not in the circumvention of it. Another misconception is that welfare outlays are busting the budget. Liberals are eager to refute this. "AFDC is less than 1 per cent of the federal budget," says Mario Cuomo. "Throw in Food Stamps and you're up to 3 per cent." Mickey Kaus of *The New Republic*, a liberal but also a welfare revisionist, retorted in his recent book, *The End of Equality*, that these comparatively low percentages only prove "that through a relatively small expenditure, Money Liberals have managed to poison voters against government spending in general."

Other calculations suggest that the cost of welfare may not be so low after all. Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation estimates that since the onset of Lyndon Johnson's war on poverty, total welfare spending expressed in 1990 dollars has amounted to $3.5 trillion, "more than the full cost of World War II after adjusting for inflation." The war metaphor has turned out to be more appropriate than LBJ imagined, of course, in view of the state of the inner cities.

The welfare problem, nonetheless, should be thought of in terms of individual incentives rather than collective costs. The problem is that the total value of benefits available to the welfare client approaches or exceeds the dollar amount that can be earned in entry-level jobs. This is the welfare trap. Try to escape by taking a job, and you may have to accept a pay cut, you may lose your health insurance, you will certainly have to go to work every day. Don't forget, welfare recipients are rewarded with leisure in addition to cash, Food Stamps, housing, Medicaid, energy assistance, legal assistance (in case they feel like suing someone), school breakfast and lunch benefits, day-care, and so on. Picking up a check from the mailbox, and visiting the local welfare office occasionally, is much less demanding than showing up at the factory gate at 8 A.M. Hence welfare dependency. According to Rector, "the average mother in the average state can get benefits worth about $12,000 or $13,000 a year."

If the woman on welfare decides to marry a man earning, say, $14,000 a year, his earnings will count toward determining her eligibility, and at that level will disqualify her. But if they live apart, or live together without admitting it, she can stay on welfare. Notice that this is not just the folly of the law, as Amitai Etzioni implies in his new book *The Spirit of Community*. "At present, in nearly every jurisdiction," he writes, "welfare payments are cut off if a recipient marries a working person, thus discouraging marriage." In fact it is not marriage that is penalized (nonworking married couples can receive welfare), but work.

"Fetch your own damn slippers! It's about time we ended this cycle of dependency here and now!"

The law cannot very easily be changed because millions of couples manage to work, stay married, and stay off welfare. If the law were changed so that one spouse's earnings no longer disqualified the other from receiving welfare, the welfare rolls could expand by 10 to 15 million families overnight. The cost of *that* really would be staggering. Couples might have to get divorced briefly, enabling the woman to go on welfare. Then they could remarry and keep the benefits (according to Etzioni's prescription). In fact, New Jersey recently did change its law to allow a recipient to retain benefits after marrying someone with a job. But to circumvent precisely this problem, the law specified that the woman would have to marry someone other than the father of her children. One way or another, generous welfare benefits have perverse consequences.

In New York City, over one million people now receive welfare—more people than attend the public-school system. (In 1943, according to Senator Moynihan, 73,000 New

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Yorkers were on relief.) David Shaffer of the Public Policy Institute recently compared work and welfare for a mother with two children (as reported by *New York Times* Metro columnist Sam Roberts): On welfare, the mother "receives a $2,856 basic grant, $636 in home energy payments, a $3,432 housing allowance, $2,784 in Food Stamps for a total of $9,708 annually, or 80 per cent of the poverty level. If the mother had a minimum-wage job, she would make $8,829 in salary, $2,880 in Food Stamps, $3,360 in public assistance, a $1,200 earned-income credit, and would pay $4,200 ($175 a month per child) for day care, $2,500 ($50 a week) in work-related expenses, and $678 in Social Security taxes for a net income of $8,891. Working for $8.50 an hour—twice the minimum wage—would disqualify the mother for public assistance and for Medicaid after one year, which would reduce her net income to under $9,000." All of which explains why it is difficult to get off welfare. We are told by welfare apologists, including David Ellwood, that half of all new recipients are off the rolls in two years. But this is a statistical deception caused by high turnover among short-term recipients. "At any one time, about 82 per cent of all recipients are in the midst of spells that will last five years or more," Douglas Besharov and Amy Fowler recently wrote in *The Public Interest*. "And about 65 per cent are caught up in spells of eight years or more."

The Cuckolding State

THE NUMBER of people who receive welfare in the U.S. is usually equated with the number of people enrolled in the AFDC program. In 1992 this was 13.5 million people, in 4.7 million families—up from 3.7 million families in 1988. This June, HHS reported that the number of families on AFDC had risen to 5 million, a record. These figures show how much welfare has grown since it was last reformed—in 1988. Between 1989 and 1992, caseloads rose by 27 per cent. Nearly all recipients are single parents, and the great majority are women.

"Single men are eligible for very little in the way of federally sponsored welfare benefits," Ellwood has written, rebutting the claim that welfare undermines the "work ethic of young black men." In *Wealth and Poverty*, George Gilder refuted this argument with perhaps his most valuable contribution to the welfare debate: "The welfare culture tells the man he is not a necessary part of the family: he feels dispensable, his wife knows he is dispensable, his children sense it." Men are "cuckolded by the compassionate state." But women aren't too perturbed if it's the state that looks after them rather than husbands.

The argument has annoyed liberals, who imagine men and women to be basically the same. In *The Undeserving Poor*, Michael Katz disapprovingly notes that Gilder is not a social scientist but "primarily a moralist." (Gilder's bold insight would not have been possible, of course, if he had been a social scientist because he would never have been able to quantify it.)

Here is Gilder on the L.A.-style inner-city today:

> It appears to be almost a matriarchy. The women receive all the income, dominate the social-worker classes, and most of the schools. But a matriarchy is contrary to nature, so what happens is that gangs of young men rule the society. And they utterly rule it, with their violence and recklessness. The women cower in their apartments and the mothers cower before their sons. If men don't dominate as husbands and providers, then they form violent gangs and dominate as thugs and muggers and drug lords.

The Agriculture Department most recently reported that 27.4 million people, or one in nine Americans, are now enrolled in the Food Stamp program. Cost: $24 billion. A Clinton Administration proposal to expand eligibility for Food Stamps has already passed the House. The additional cost may be $2 billion a year. The Department of Housing and Urban Development provides housing aid to about 4.5 million families, and estimates that a further 13 million families are qualified to receive assistance. Translation: HUD would like a big budget increase, and if taxpayers can be persuaded to send more of their money to Washington, HUD has lots of potential clients.

Here's another welfare expansion that the Clinton Administration is quietly supporting. Welfare reform in 1988 required states to find jobs or job training for hundreds of thousands of welfare recipients, this to be implemented by October 1992. Failing that, clients just might lose their benefits. The Administration has now asked that the effective date be postponed for two years. Congress will certainly not object.

In addition, please note, the Congress has now passed legislation that will require states to allow welfare recipients to register to vote at welfare offices. Senate Republicans at first wisely stalled with a filibuster, but Senator Dave Durenberger of Minnesota relented, and was cravenly joined by Pete Domenici of New Mexico and Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania. John Stuart Mill, the Victorian liberal who was ahead of his time in supporting the enfranchisement of women, thought it axiomatic that those who received welfare ("parish relief") should not be allowed to vote. Legislators today want to encourage them to do so. "We have made it easier for the American people to be a part of their government," said a gullible Senator Wendell Ford (D., Ky.), who managed the bill.

In mid June, Clinton said that if his health-care reform includes "health coverage for all children, like every other country does," and if the Congress enacts the earned-income tax credit that he supports, "that will remove all the financial incentive to prefer welfare to work." (It's good to see him acknowledging the reality of this incentive.) The tax credit would be a sweetener for lower-income workers, and it's true that universal health insurance would make it easier to escape welfare: recipients would not have to fear losing coverage. But universal coverage would impose a heavy new burden of taxation on the economy and would come with a blizzard of new regulations. In addition, a health-insurance scheme that is not in some way means-tested is unlikely.

How to Break the Cycle

HOW, THEN, might welfare be reformed? What about time limits? Clinton's proposal "will put a time limit on welfare," he repeated in June. "After that, people who've been through the education and training programs will have to work." Conservatives should rid themselves of any illusions about time limits. As Kate O'Beirne of the Heritage Foundation has said, any such measure will certainly come with a federal jobs program

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and a child-care program attached. "They've figured me out," Representative Tom Downey of New York told a *Wall Street Journal* reporter last year when this objection to time limits was raised. "If you want to time-limit welfare, make sure there's a job at the end of that rainbow."

This brings us to work requirements for those on welfare. In recent years they have acquired growing support. But the results of the Reagan Administration's attempt to enact them should make everyone leery. The liberal strategy is first to complain bitterly about "slavefare." The putative requirements are then riddled with loopholes; for example, women with small children are exempted (as happened in 1988), which takes care of half the recipients right off. Then come the countervailing demands. Work requirements are catnip for social workers; they see counseling galore in the educational programs and training seminars that Congress will construe as meeting the requirements. Result: a new sandbox for the welfare bureaucracies to romp in. Social workers sometimes grumble about work requirements, for the sake of appearances; secretly they love them.

"Making welfare mothers work is one of the silliest ideas I've ever heard of," says George Gilder. "Government will not only have to provide the jobs, it will also have to provide day care. It has to do two things that it can't do at all: create jobs and raise children. It takes on still more responsibility for the lives of welfare recipients, with no perceptible benefits to society. In return for valueless work, recipients get to abandon their kids." The only useful reform, he says, is to "reduce the level of benefits, and that's the one thing that nobody wants to do."

Martin Anderson of the Hoover Institution points out that there is something odd about requiring people to work for welfare. "The reason for welfare is that people can't take care of themselves," he says. "If they can work, they shouldn't be on welfare." (AFDC started up, incidentally, as small grants to widows, in the 1930s. The idea was to keep the mothers at home and the children out of orphanages; not put the women in "jobs" and the children in programs.) "Take a young mother with two small kids," says Anderson, the author of *Welfare*. "You're going to kick her out of the house?" It is hardly a conservative notion.

This Land Is Their Land

THE END of welfare as we know it may seem remote, but the federal judiciary is helping to bring it closer. Court decisions have made it difficult for states to deny government services, including welfare, to illegal aliens. If this continues unabated, Justice Blackmun and his ilk may succeed in bankrupting public welfare before President Clinton has a chance to reform it.

In 1982, the Supreme Court invalidated a Texas statute denying educational benefits to the alien children of illegal immigrants. Justice Brennan held for a narrow majority that illegal aliens were covered by the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and that there is "no national policy that might justify the state in denying the children an elementary education." It's been downhill ever since.

In California, Representative Dana Rohrabacher points out, "public-service providers are prohibited from contacting the Immigration Service to determine if an applicant is residing in our country legally." But woe betide the employer who unknowingly hires an illegal who has come here to work. He might go to prison—the employer, that is.

"We have changed the dynamics for illegal aliens now," said Rohrabacher. "It used to be that they were afraid to have any contact with the government because they might be found out and sent home. Now we have made it more risky for an illegal to apply for a regular job than to apply for government assistance."

Government agencies in California are actually in the business of advertising to attract illegal clients. After the L.A. riots, the Federal Emergency Management Agency passed out thousands of leaflets headlined: "Can I Get Help Even If I'm Not a U.S. Citizen?" The text helpfully added: "Applicants will not risk their request for legal residency under the Amnesty Program if they apply for or receive disaster assistance."

The Department of Public Health in San Bernadino County has distributed a brochure, in English and Spanish, proclaiming the "good news for pregnant women: You do not need to be a citizen to get Medi-Cal," the state version of Medicaid. Then came the following Q&A: "If I am here illegally, will it be reported to Immigration?" "No! Under the new law, Medi-Cal cannot report you to immigration for applying for or receiving Medi-Cal while you are pregnant." "How do I apply?" "Go to the nearest Medi-Cal office." "What about share of cost?" "Effective July 1, 1989, there is a new program for pregnant women. If you meet the income requirements, you will have no share of cost for pregnancy-related services only."

"Illegal aliens can legally obtain AFDC," Rohrabacher told me. "They are the biggest factor in the expansion of AFDC in California." It works this way. An illegal comes across the border and has a baby (at taxpayers' expense), who then automatically becomes a U.S. citizen. "As the guardian of the U.S. citizen, the illegal alien receives the AFDC money."

"Those are known as child-only cases," said Amy Albright of the California Department of Social Services. "There has been explosive growth in that area; as high as 25 per cent in 1991–92; up 17 per cent this year. It's far and away the fastest growing area of welfare dependency in California. There are some pilot projects to try to detect fraud, but at the state level our hands are tied by court decisions." According to Representative Elton Gallegly, nearly two-thirds of all children delivered in L.A. County–operated hospitals are the offspring of illegal-alien mothers.

California welfare benefits are among the highest in the nation, because for years they were indexed to inflation. "That's why the state is in so much trouble now," George Gilder says. "It attracts the bums and the workers are leaving for Utah. That's where the great sucking sound is coming from, by the way: Provo, Utah. It has become the new Silicon Valley."

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The goal of workfare is to make welfare less appealing, but if this means losing welfare clients, the social workers won't stand for it. Mickey Kaus points out in *The End of Equality* that "workfare" always gets watered down into something mushy. "Welfare mothers are offered elaborate menus of activities, including vocational instruction, 'job search,' and remedial education," he writes. "Taking such courses, one after another, can easily become a way to avoid going into the labor market." When California enacted a reform in 1986 with "workfare" provisions, he points out, "exactly 1,235 recipients" out of 650,000 were working for their checks five years later.

Nonetheless, Kaus himself proposes an ambitious new work program for welfare recipients—a new kind of WPA with welfare mothers being herded about with Marine Corps discipline on the job site. No paycheck until the end of the week, lady! "The danger is that the men would try to live off the women, relying as before on a compassion-padded system," Kaus admits. His solution: "You have to make mothers work at least enough so that they are faced with the unpleasant consequences of having an out-of-wedlock child. If you don't, you perpetuate the underclass."

To get the Kausian picture, imagine a construction site with pregnant mums under the supervision of a Lou Gossett–type drill sergeant. The very unthinkableness of it brings the irresponsible males rushing over from their gang-warfare activities and street-corner lookout posts. Kaus's admirable goal is to shame them into coming to the rescue, picking up the shovels, going to work, marrying the women. Ergo, with a strict regime, two-parent working families will replace one-parent non-working families.

Hmmmm, it might work, Charles Murray allows, but he can't see Congress enacting it, somehow. "Napoleonic," says Myron Magnet, the mutton-chopped author of *The Dream and the Nightmare: The Sixties Legacy to the Underclass*.

It's instructive to take a look at the 1988 welfare reform, labeled the Family Support Act, to see what happened when work requirements were introduced into legislative deliberations then. The result was a disguised liberal tri-

In 1991, the cost-of-living adjustment to AFDC was frozen for five years, and actual grant reductions of 8 per cent were made in December 1992. AFDC now pays $742 a month for a family of four. Nonetheless, 73,000 AFDC cases were added from December to March 1993, for a total caseload of 2,531,550. The state has attempted to limit the welfare benefits of newcomers to the level in their home states, but this was thrown out by a federal district judge. "If the purpose of the measure is to deter migration by poor people into the state," Judge David Levi wrote, ". . . then the measure must be unconstitutional." Because? It would restrict the right of citizens to travel freely!

Maureen DiMarco, the Secretary of Child Development and Education and a member of Governor Wilson's cabinet, said that the 1982 Supreme Court ruling on illegals had been "analogized" in most states, "so that you can't even count who is and who isn't documented in your schools, because you can't discriminate among them or treat them differently." They don't check documents in California schools ("we can't"), but they do get information from teachers, and the estimate is that "the cost of undocumented youngsters in the schools is in the neighborhood of $1 billion." Another $1.2 billion goes for health and welfare benefits for illegals, she said, and $200 million for locking them up. One-third of all inmates in Orange County jail are illegals. The Center for Immigration Studies has estimated that the total cost of major federal and state services to illegals in California in 1990 was $5.4 billion.

That's enough to make some liberals worry—admittedly more on behalf of the environment than the budget. "The time has come to risk being politically incorrect, to take off the blindfolds, to think the unthinkable and speak the unspeakable," environmentalist Harold Gilliam wrote in the *San Francisco Chronicle* in February. "There are too many people coming into California. Immigration must stop." Enviros, call your federal judiciary.

Everyone I spoke to agreed the issue is becoming hot. Gallegly's "more liberal friends recognize that the issue has merit," and as for Rohrabacher: "Two years ago I was castigated as a racist and treated even by Republicans as a social outcast for suggesting that illegals be excluded from government programs. Now, even liberal Democrats realize that we can't pay for the social services of the entire planet."

Nonetheless, pressure groups are using public-health, communicable-disease arguments to claim that the "universal health-care coverage" sought by Clinton should really be universal. Carlos Rodriguez of Consumer Union's western regional office told *Los Angeles Times* reporters that it would be a "tremendous mistake" if universal coverage did not extend to illegal aliens.

In Washington, Representative Jan Meyers (R., Kan.) has introduced a bill to return the whole AFDC program to the states in the form of block grants, and to provide that no benefits will be paid until paternity has been established and unless both parents are 18 years old. Gallegly has about 80 co-sponsors for legislation that would end the payment of welfare and other benefits (including AFDC, Food Stamps, public housing) to illegals.

I asked Gallegly if illegals could get public housing. "Not legally," he said, "but in most cases there doesn't appear to be any test." Officials are afraid to ask (the spirit of Justice Brennan hovers over their shoulders). "One of the things that always comes up is that if we scrutinize applicants for public housing, then we are going to be charged with discrimination and the violation of constitutional rights," he said. "I say that's incorrect, provided we ask everyone who applies the same set of questions." That would be non-discriminatory, wouldn't it? Better check with Justice Blackmun first. —TB

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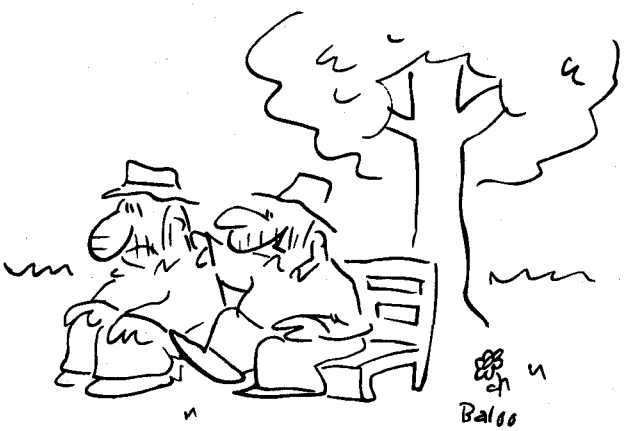
umph, not acknowledged at the time. The *New York Times* strategically praised the emerging legislation in a succession of editorials as "A Break with the Past," "Welfare without Dependency," and "a rare social policy step forward in the Reagan era." When the bill reached the crucial conference committee it was hailed as "the first major revision of welfare since the creation of AFDC." Its central principle: "Able-bodied recipients must accept or train for [work] in return for benefits."

After Labor Day, Reagan sternly promised to veto the bill if it lacked a work requirement. On cue, the liberals grumbled about slavefare, then demanded concessions. Senator Moynihan warned that if the bill didn't pass, "we will have spoiled the next century." Finally Congressman Henry Waxman (D., Calif.) insisted that if workfare provisions were to be tolerated, there would have to be an expansion of Medicaid and day care, with these benefits



"Look on the bright side, Bernie—you could be working *poor."*

made available for one year to those who left welfare to take jobs. Those who read the fine print might have noticed that the so-called work provisions would not take effect for another five years, and so could be quietly repealed by a future Congress (as will happen soon). Even then, the requirement would apply to only 5 per cent of recipients, and "work" could be construed as job-training, secondary education, and the like. All of which put the social-worker classes in a very good mood. It's not clear what Reagan thought he was getting out of it; perhaps simply something called "welfare reform with work requirements."

The *New York Times* was ecstatic: "Real Welfare Reform at Last." The paper asked Robert Rector to contribute an op-ed article about the legislation, but he highlighted the defects that are now apparent, and the piece was not published. Today, Rector says, "Less than 1 per cent of all AFDC parents are actually required to work in exchange for benefits."

Charles Murray did get into print, in the *Wall Street Journal*. He pointed out that giving Medicaid and day care to women who got jobs would put them side by side with others who lacked those benefits. Unavoidably confronted with the unfairness of their position, some of these workers would be enticed into the welfare system themselves, even if only for a few months. Then, when they went back to work, they too would enjoy Medicaid and day-care coverage. Murray "ventured the prediction" that welfare would expand as a result, and it has. Welfare defenders blame the recession, but the increase preceded it, and is now continuing beyond it.

"1988 Welfare Act Is Falling Short, Researchers Say," was the headline of a March 1992 *New York Times* article by Jason DeParle. While the law "has succeeded in expanding services," DeParle reported, "it is failing to convert welfare from a system that permits long-term dependency to one that stresses skills, jobs, and financial independence." Oh. It *succeeded* in expanding services? Now they tell us.

The central feature of the reform was something called JOBS (Job Opportunities and Basic Skills), telling the states to run training and work programs for parents on welfare. The Feds would put up $1 billion a year and the states were to find matching funds and design their own programs. These were duly set up, each blazoned with its hopeful acronym. Ohio's LEAP stood for Learning, Earning, and Parenting. Then there was GAIN in California, REACH in New Jersey, WORK in Arkansas, SWIM in San Diego, etc. Newspaper accounts of these experiments have been suffused with, well, HOPE, and usually they include an upbeat quote from Judith Gueron, president of the Ford Foundation–funded Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation in New York.

Lovely New Experiments

HERE WERE lots of lovely new social experiments for liberals to play with. Pilot projects, day-care programs, control groups, experimental subjects! Small, monitored groups often behave themselves while under observation, and sure enough, when our welfare moms (the experimental group) were ushered into classrooms, given child support, day care, counseling services, individual attention, job-placement advice, lectures on AIDS, and no doubt free condoms, they seemed to demonstrate measurable "earnings gains" (compared to the control group). But somehow, after the data had been collected and the social workers had moved on to another pilot project, little proved to have changed.

Douglas Besharov of the American Enterprise Institute points out that between 1987 and 1991 HHS carried out the Teenage Parent Demonstration in Chicago, Newark, and Camden, requiring all teen mothers to participate. No exceptions were allowed. Those who didn't show up were subject to a sizable reduction in their AFDC grant, losing about $160 a month. The great majority (88 per cent) did appear for registration, but the actual program entailed going to public-school classes and other time-consuming chores. At that point "participation fell off sharply, dropping to about half," Besharov says. In other words, a lot of the teen mothers were willing to lose one-third (or more) of their AFDC rather than sit in classrooms. Almost certainly, attendance entailed loss of (unreported) outside income for some. The result suggests that welfare is now so generous that many of those who get it prefer a "pay cut" to jumping through the bureaucracy's hoops.

Still, experimentation at the state level is probably the only hope of change right now. As Kaus says, if the requirements are strict enough they will make welfare less appealing, and officials in a number of states do seem willing to make things a good deal tougher. Wisconsin Gover-

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nor Tommy Thompson has a proposal under which cash benefits really would stop after two years. President Clinton's welfare officials can give the green light to these state proposals by waiving HHS rules; without the waiver the experiments cannot proceed. The valuable principle here is that of federalism: let the states adopt their own rules rather than force them to submit to Washington's. The probable outcome is that waivers will be granted only in a few scattered jurisdictions. Liberals are not about to give up yet on the centralization of power. The results will no doubt be viewed as inconclusive.

Some liberals, of course, are still talking about fully funding the inner cities. Maybe we should let them have the money and see what happens. Charles Murray predicted a few years ago that the cities would continue to deteriorate and that those who could afford it would withdraw to gated suburbs and beyond. That too will come to pass—is already doing so.

Liberal Anxiety

MEANWHILE we should note with some satisfaction the growing anxiety in liberal circles. It is unthinkable for them to give up on their egalitarian ideology. Yet they don't know what to do about the underclass. Mickey Kaus's attack on "money liberals"—on the belief that social problems can be solved by transferring money from rich to poor—tells us that all is not well. The truth is, their favorite class of experimental subjects, inner-city blacks, are not behaving themselves properly. The black leadership is fine. They have been bought off with affirmative action, racial set-asides, gerrymandered districts, local power, and ample patronage. Liberal schemes have benefited them personally, and so they remain obedient—Nouveaux Toms. But the rank and file, frankly, have been disorderly: the women having too many children and just plain enjoying life on the dole, not even trying to join the middle class; the young men of course beyond the pale—downright uncooperative and dangerous.

The liberals hadn't bargained for this. They used to scoff confidently at conservatives who said that welfare would undermine work habits. Hadn't we heard? In America, there is a work ethic. Now the liberals are wondering what to do next. Norplant seems to be their latest nostrum—the contraceptive implant that blocks ovulation for five years. Two years ago there was an uproar when the *Philadelphia Inquirer* said welfare mothers should be given an incentive to use it. Then it was made available through Medicaid, and now it is being dispensed free in public-school clinics. In a few years, it will probably be apparent that most young ghetto women are not in fact using Norplant, and that they are having children deliberately: not to get on welfare but because babies bring a little love into their lives (and the welfare will be there to take care of them). At that point we should not be surprised if the liberals resort to sterner measures. Don't rule out compulsory Norplant in exchange for welfare in the years ahead.

"Most of the people we persist in calling poor are really a sort of lower leisure class, subsidized in idleness, never forced by circumstance to acquire the old middle-class habits," Joe Sobran wrote in a recent column. "Why should these young women 'better themselves,' as the Victorians would have put it? They might gain materially, but they would lose the security they have. Only a few of them are willing to take the risk and give up what they already possess in order to compete with a completely different class of people who have inherited those middle-class habits."

The point is that the liberals themselves often despise these "middle class" virtues and have actively sought to undermine them. "I don't think they even believe in them for themselves, let alone feel they can impose them on others," said Gertrude Himmelfarb, who has written extensively on poverty in Victorian England. She said that historians usually write about these values—thrift, prudence, temperance, providence, and so on—as though they were specific to the middle class. "But that is not the way the Victorian reformers thought of them. These were eternal verities, true for all classes. They truly believed that the working classes were as capable of realizing those values in their lives as they themselves were in theirs. So in a sense they were far more democratic than our present-day reformers."

The key difference between the English ruling class in the nineteenth century and ours today is that the Victorians tried to instill the virtues needed to lift the poor out of poverty. American liberals have tried to stamp them out. Both succeeded, the Victorians admirably, American liberals shamefully. In *The Dream and the Nighmare*, Myron Magnet points to the meretricious and degraded values of American elites, transmitting to the underclass the endlessly repeated message that "you can't succeed without special treatment; the values that allow us haves to succeed have no application to you have-nots; your own self-destructive behavior is a legitimate expression of your history and your oppression," and so on.

I spoke to Marvin Olasky, the author of *The Tragedy of American Compassion* and a professor at the University of Texas. His book contrasts American compassion of a hundred years ago with the bureaucratic version today. He sees the future of the inner cities as "bleak." We have two cultures very much in conflict today, he says. "As long as we cannot say that one is better than the other, then we are not going to be able to reform the welfare system. You have to be able to say, 'This is better, this is the proper way to live, we're going to help you live this way.' "

The liberals are not in a mood to permit any such change. They rule over the editorial pages and the newsrooms, our increasingly degraded universities, both houses of Congress, and now the White House. But now the next move is up to them. They seem to have most of the chess pieces, but their position on the board is precarious, almost hopeless. They can persist in their posture of accusation, of course, but it is wearing thin and probably only works with a Republican in the White House. Gone is the old self-confidence, the sincere belief that one more entitlement program will turn the tide.

A comment that Senator Jacob Javits made in 1966 shows the magnitude of the change. He asked the chairman of New York City's Human Rights Commission, then appearing before the Judiciary Committee: "Commissioner Booth, as New York *has* an antidiscrimination-in-housing law, an excellent law, why do we still have riots? How is it that our situation has not been perfected?" Oh, Senator, would that you were with us today, $3.6 trillion later. Our situation still has not been perfected. And will not be any time soon. □

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helo

"Do you know who I am?"

"I needed something to spur me on."

To a Conferee

Dear sir or madam, if you fail,
Do not, like conquered Huns, impale
Your nether parts upon a spear;
Instead, affect a modest cheer
As, at the drawing boards again,
You persevere like maids and men
Who rise above love's labors lost
And write a bill less like Jack Frost.

W. H. VON DREELE

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1993 BUDGET DRIVE

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Report from the Front

AFGHANISTAN REVISITED

The Red Army departed three years ago, but the war goes on—this time a civil war between factions of *mujahedin*. The U.S. may pay a heavy price later if we back the wrong one now.

RADEK SIKORSKI

WHEN ONE of the young fighters who control the Kabul zoo points a Kalashnikov at one of the two remaining monkeys, it stands to attention and salutes, the Soviet way. Other animals are less playful. The white bear is smarting from three bullet wounds, and the vulture limps from a shrapnel wound he got when a mortar exploded near his cage. The deer and the antelopes were eaten long ago. Rumor has it that during one of the numerous battles for the zoo, one overzealous soldier mistook the elephant for a tank and tore it to shreds with a rocket-propelled grenade. The animals have the misfortune to occupy the very frontline where the main factions are battling for control of Kabul. Four years after the Soviet withdrawal and over a year since the collapse of the Communist regime, Kabul hardly looks like a city celebrating a triumph.

It should do. The victory which the Afghans, together with their American backers, won over the Soviet Union is seen in its proper proportions only if we imagine the Vietcong not only forcing an American withdrawal from Indochina, but precipitating the break-up of the United States as a superpower and a nation-state. The tens of billions of dollars which the Soviets lost fighting the war during the 1980s and the $300 million per month which the Afghan Communist regime received after Soviet combat troops were withdrawn in February 1989 were arguably a catalyst of the Soviet collapse. America, on the other hand, supported the *mujahedin* with a pittance. Western support for the Afghan war was probably the most successful and most cost-effective campaign we ever fought against Communism. It was the Afghans who did the fighting and the dying, but much of the credit must go to Ronald Reagan: it was his decision in 1986 to supply the rebels with Stinger portable anti-aircraft missiles that turned the tide.

The departure of Soviet diplomats from Kabul in August of last year was more humiliating than anything inflicted on U.S. personnel in Saigon or Phnom Penh. One of the planes sent to pick them up was hit by a rocket on the airport tarmac and exploded in a fireball. The diplomats and their families spent a night under fire on the floor of the airport's departure hall before a new plane arrived to take them to safety. The looted Soviet embassy is a monument to disaster. Rockets have blown holes in the concrete perimeter fence; bullets have cracked the armored glass in guardposts; fires have swept the compound. The embassy was really a small town with a dozen blocks of apartments and everything needed for self-sufficiency: supermarkets, a hospital, a sports ground. Eerie silence now reigns over it. The huge entrance gates are firmly shut and booby-trapped. The compound is mined to prevent further plunder, but one can appreciate the sight from the top of a nearby tower. There are Volgas and Ladas stacked up as if in a car cemetery, concrete skeletons painted with soot, acres of broken glass. You could hardly imagine more tangible proof of defeat.

The Taxi Test

EVEN TAKING a taxi can give one cause to gloat. I got in one—it was a mongrel with a Citroën dashboard, the body of an old Nissan, and an engine that sounded as if it had come from a T-34 tank, and its driver kept losing his way. Until 18 months before, he confessed in Russian, he had been a colonel in the Afghan Communist army, and had spent six years at the Frunze military academy in the Soviet Union. He had been the military commander of the Logar province in 1989—right about the time that I passed through that region at night, in a jeep, afraid of ambushes. I tried to imagine how our conversation would have gone if he had captured me then. Now, he reminded me of a pitiful Russian count driving a taxi in Paris after the Bolshevik coup. I took perverse pleasure in giving him a generous tip.

Mr. Sikorski, NR's roving correspondent, wrote about the Afghanistan war in his book The Dust of the Saints.

ILLUSTRATION BY FRED CARLSON

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To the Afghans, however, the euphoria of victory has long since worn off. According to rough estimates by the Red Cross, about 20,000 people were killed and 100,000 wounded in Kabul over the last year. Hundreds die each month from the ten million mines which the Soviet Union left behind and which Russia shows no sign of wanting to take back—according to the now familiar principle of claiming the Soviet Union's assets but not accepting its liabilities. The capital is divided into zones of control between the principal *mujahed* factions much as Beirut used to be, and many quarters look like Beirut too. Even on quiet days, people die by the dozen from random rockets and sniping. On one otherwise quiet day my taxi was shot at, and twice commandeered to ferry wounded people to hospitals.

Rumors abound: The factions are about to make a deal; no, a confrontation is imminent and rocketing will soon start in earnest. The city has electricity and running water for only a few hours a week. The last telephone call out of the country was made two months ago. Nobody eats fruit and vegetables from the bazaars for fear of poisoning. Boys belonging to the Shia Hezb-e-Wahdat faction were caught with syringes, apparently trying to inject poison into watermelons and cucumbers. Dozens of cases have been admitted to hospitals. In restaurants, it is nowadays perfectly acceptable to ask your waiter to taste your tomato salad before eating.

Chooosing Sides

THE WAR had upset Afghanistan's fragile balance, and it will take years to re-establish it. Afghan politics is hideously complicated, with ethnic and linguistic divisions cutting across those of clan, money, birth, and religion; but the contest for power has lately coalesced around two dominant personalities: the Tajik war-hero Ahmed Shah Masood, and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the Pashtun prime minister.

While other *mujahedin* leaders—including Mr. Hekmatyar—were safely based in Pakistan, Mr. Masood spent the entire war inside Afghanistan, planning operations against the Soviet convoys driving through the vital Salang tunnel. With scant support from Pakistan he organized the most effective guerrilla force in the country, the force that eventually took Kabul from the Communists in April 1992. Even while controlling Kabul militarily, Mr. Masood held back from assuming total authority, accepting instead the post of defense minister, which he has now sacrificed for the sake of a negotiated settlement. Mr. Masood, while a pious Muslim, gives the impression of being a practical man. To be sure, the ideology of his Jamiat-e-Islami is political Islam, but so far without the usual fanatical overtones.

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"It doesn't look like aerobics to me."

His moderation should not, however, be interpreted as weakness. Mr. Masood's Tajiks will not meekly resubjugate themselves to the formerly dominant Pashtun. Masood's forces still control most of the capital, and he has the backing of the men who might matter most in the final battle for power: the commanders on the ground all over the countryside. His vulnerability consists in the fact that he cannot protect Kabul from rocketing, nor can he restore power supplies without an accommodation with Mr. Hekmatyar. When we spoke in his native village in the Panjshir valley, Mr. Masood told me he was disappointed with all the political leaders who had spent the war in Peshawar, Pakistan. He brought them from exile to Kabul, and now they see no place for him in the government. Unless an acceptable political settlement is found, Mr. Masood might reluctantly impose a military solution.

Mr. Hekmatyar, on the other hand, has been known as a political extremist for years. His party was best known inside Afghanistan for fighting other *mujahed* groups, even though it received the greatest portion of the CIA-supplied funds. Even as prime minister, he is afraid to enter the capital for fear of revenge for the slaughter his rocketing has caused. He runs training camps for Islamic radicals from Morocco, Egypt, Algeria, and Kashmir. As a member of the shadowy Muslim Brotherhood, he has been receiving private and state funds from a variety of unorthodox sources ranging from the purist Saudi sect of the Wahhabis to, if persistent rumor is right, Colonel Qaddafi. He backed Saddam Hussein in the Gulf War.

Hekmatyar's anti-Western obsessions are not merely verbal. In 1987, his men murdered Andy Skrzypkowiak, a British cameraman, because he was bringing war footage of Masood's military victories to the West. They dropped a large rock on his head while he was asleep by the wall of a house. Far from punishing the guilty, Mr. Hekmatyar has rewarded them with jeeps and continues to lie about the crime. "Did the British government make any representation to you about this case?" I asked him in his camp south of Kabul.

"No, never." he answered.

Later, in Islamabad, Sir Nicholas Barrington, Britain's High Commissioner in Pakistan, told me, "I have personally told Mr. Hekmatyar at length of Her Majesty's Government's grave concern over the murder."

The United States bears a heavy responsibility for building up Mr. Hekmatyar's power base. For years, American officials condoned his lies, propaganda, and assassinations, despite repeated warnings from journalists and allied governments. What is amazing is not that Mr. Hekmatyar turned down a meeting with President Reagan in 1985—given his political associations, it was a perfect opportunity to snub the Great Satan—but that he was offered such a meeting in the first place. Powerful men in the American Administration favored Mr. Hekmatyar at that time. Now the damage has been done. He lives off the money and weapons which were supplied to him for fighting the Soviet army and

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which he stashed away for this power struggle.

Mission Accomplished?

ARGUABLY, the main Western goal in Afghanistan—Soviet defeat—has been achieved, and we can go back to treating Afghanistan as the backwater it was before the Soviets invaded. This is the current policy. While the Iranian, Pakistani, and Saudi embassies in Kabul buzz with activity, Western embassies are shut, even though they are located in a relatively safe part of town. The British embassy is due to be liquidated altogether. Western policy is to wait and see what kind of government emerges. What does it matter if a tin-pot country is taken over by a tin-pot dictator?

But Afghanistan is not the same country it was before. U.S. satellite images show that a bumper crop from 58,000 acres of poppy fields can be expected this year—an increase of 10,000 acres over last year's area of cultivation. Afghanistan is fast coming to rival the golden triangle in the Far East as a source of heroin, and from this perspective it is clearly in our interest to support the kind of central authority which is likely to tackle the drug menace.

The world has changed in the last twenty years too. With cheap travel and instant communications, terrorists can base themselves anywhere on the globe. A terrorist with a satellite phone, limitless revenues from the poppy fields, and access to Iran and turbulent Central Asia might be forgiven for preferring a remote Afghan valley to places like the Bekaa valley or the Libyan desert. Afghanistan's potential nuisance value can be measured by a famous recent terrorist incident. Several months ago a lone Pathan gunman opened up on employees at the gate of the CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia. The might of the CIA, FBI, and Pakistani army has been mobilized to try to capture him on the Afghan–Pakistani border in Baluchistan. Over 4,000 men were recently used in dawn raids on suspected hideaways. The culprit is still at large, laughing at all the world.

Mr. Hekmatyar may be on the threshold of victory. If he wins, he is likely to turn against his former patrons—Pakistan and the West—in favor of more radical friends. We may soon find out that, as with Saddam Hussein and Manuel Noriega, Western money and Western illusions have created a genie who refuses to get back into the bottle. The West should support Ahmed Shah Masood: it is not too late yet. Afghanistan lies on the crossroads between East and West, North and South, and has always caused trouble for Great Powers. It could do so again. □

Counterincentives

TAXES, GROWTH, AND MR. CLINTON

Raising taxes kills economic growth. Why won't Mr. Clinton's advisors tell him?

BRUCE BARTLETT

ECONOMISTS have started devoting increasing attention to the problem of economic growth—in particular, to the impact of government policy, especially taxation and spending. Their findings will give us an idea of the likely effect of the kinds of policies being proposed by the Clinton Administration.

Throughout most of the postwar period, economic growth was assumed to be purely a function of the productivity of economic inputs, such as labor and capital. This is known as the neoclassical growth model; its principal developer was Professor Robert Solow of MIT, one of Clinton's economic advisors. Much of the research on growth during this period simply involved calculating the contribution of each particular input in ever greater detail.

The weakness of the neoclassical model is that a large share of the differences in growth rates between countries cannot be explained by it. This is because in the model many of the factors we normally expect to have an impact on growth, such as capital investment, only affect the *level* of economic output, not the *rate* of growth. Consequently, the model grossly understates the role of government policy.

In the neoclassical model, differences in growth rates between countries were assumed to be transitional. As technology diffused and the capital stock in Europe and Japan was restored following the destruction of World War II, growth rates were expected to converge. The persistently high growth rates in Japan and other Asian economies, however, forced economists to rethink their assumptions. Newer growth models now find important roles for policy in areas such as human capital (i.e., education) and research and development (i.e., technology).

The development of these new growth models also allows economists to investigate other areas that affect growth, such as taxation, spending, investment, and trade policies. The results of this research show clearly that high taxes and government spending, and restrictions on trade and investment, will reduce growth.

One of the first papers to question the passive role of government policy in the neoclassical growth model was written by Robert King and Sergio Rebelo and published in the prestigious *Journal of Political Economy* in October 1990. King and Rebelo showed that taxation has a substantial impact on long-run growth rates through its effect on the formation of capital, both

Mr. Bartlett, a visiting fellow at the Cato Institute, was deputy assistant secretary for economic policy at the Treasury Department during the Reagan and Bush Administrations.

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human and physical. They found that a 10-percentage-point increase in the income-tax rate reduces long-run growth by 1.6 percentage points. Thus the cost of the tax to the economy vastly exceeds the amount of the tax itself (whereas the standard growth models suggest a zero impact on growth from such a tax increase).

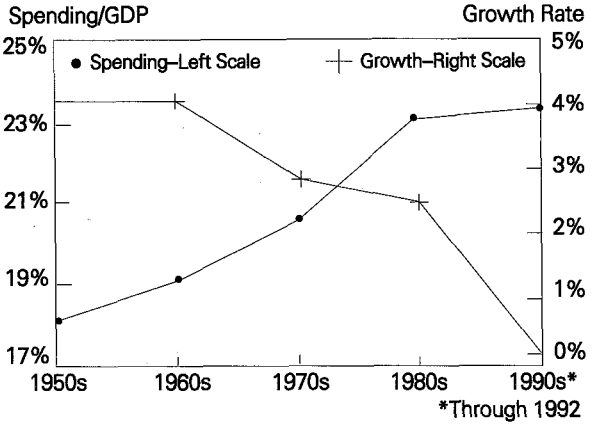
Professor Robert Barro of Harvard has carried this line of research forward in a series of papers looking at a large cross-section of countries. Barro has found a clear negative correlation between increases in government spending and economic growth. This is because higher spending leads to higher taxes, which depress private investment. This reduction in private investment is not offset by higher public investment, which appears to have little impact on growth.

A 1991 paper published by the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland confirms these results. Economists Charles Carlstrom and Jagadeesh Gokhale looked at total government spending on goods and services in the U.S. between 1946 and 1989, which rose from 13.7 per cent to 22.1 per cent of GDP. They found that this increase in spending has led to a decline in output of 2.1 per cent per year.

More recently, economists Eric Engen and Jonathan Skinner of the National Bureau of Economic Research found an even higher negative correlation. Reviewing the experience of 107 countries between 1970 and 1985, they found that a 10-percentage-point increase in taxation reduced real growth by 3.2 percentage points per year in the short run. In the long run, a balanced-budget increase in both taxation and spending of 10 percentage points reduces growth by 1.4 percentage points per year.

The negative effect of expanding government is illustrated in the graph, which shows the increase in Federal Government spending as a share of GDP since the 1950s and the concomitant decline in real growth of GDP. As the graph shows, when spending averaged 18 to 19 per cent of GDP, growth averaged better than 4 per cent per year. As spending grew to more than 20 per cent of GDP, growth fell to 2 to 3 per cent per year. With spending now at more than 23 per cent of GDP, we are seeing a further decline in economic growth, which has averaged less than 1 per cent per year so far in the 1990s.

Average Federal Spending/GDP and Average GDP Growth Rate



The Clinton Effect

WHAT DOES this research tell us about the likely effects of the Clinton economic program? According to the Con-

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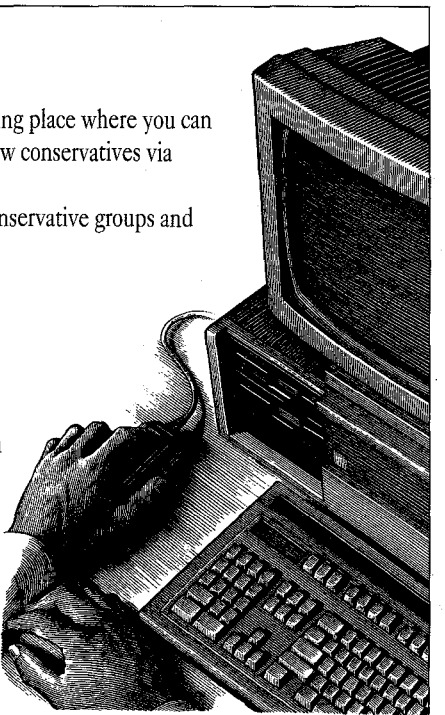

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PROJECTED TAXES AND SPENDING AS SHARE OF GDP

	Without Clinton Plan		With Clinton Plan	
Year	Revenues	Outlays	Revenues	Outlays
1993	18.5	23.4	18.5	23.5
1994	18.7	23.1	19.1	23.2
1995	18.8	23.0	19.4	23.1
1996	18.8	22.8	19.6	22.7
1997	18.7	23.0	19.7	22.4
1998	18.8	23.4	19.7	22.6

Source: "An Analysis of the President's February Budgetary Proposals" (March 1993, Congressional Budget Office).

gressional Budget Office, the Clinton plan would have the effects shown in the table. As it indicates, in the first three years of the Clinton program there is no reduction in spending whatsoever—in fact, spending rises slightly—while taxes rise almost a percentage point. This suggests a decline in economic growth of about one-third of a percentage point over what would otherwise occur, based on Engen and Skinner's results. This may not sound like much, but it amounts to about 10 per cent of all the growth the Clinton Administration expected to get this year and may explain why it recently reduced its economic growth projection for 1993 down from 3.1 per cent to 2.5 per cent.

Thus even though the latest academic research on economic growth is unambiguous in viewing higher taxes and spending as negative, the Clinton Administration's growth strategy relies entirely on higher spending and taxes. It will unquestionably reduce growth below what we would have gotten by doing nothing. Since growth has been anemic ever since the 1990 budget agreement, any further decline could be catastrophic for millions of Americans. □

Redefinitions

ARE ALL MEN RAPISTS?

The new Violence Against Women Act is sexual politics with a vengeance.

STEPHANIE GUTMANN

ONE DAY this January, Joe Biden had a revelation to share with his fellow members of the Senate Judiciary Committee. "Our idea of crime," he intoned, "has left no room for violence against women." The "surging epidemic" of rape and domestic violence he saw engulfing the nation was "doubly dangerous" because it is "as invisible to policymakers as it is terrifying to its victims." The solution? An omnibus bill he had been shepherding for several years, now titled "The Violence Against Women Act of 1993." Not until the proposed legislation is passed, he told them, "can we as a nation inscribe this violence with a name so that it will never be mistaken or dismissed as anything other than brutally wrong."

Unless you had spent the last ten years in one of Catharine MacKinnon's law seminars, you should have been jolted from your post-lunch nap when the statement "our idea of crime has left no room for violence against women" went by. Even in the rhetoric-besotted Senate a few cries of "Huh?" or "Say what?" should have rung out. But the concepts of "silent data," the "invisible" epidemic, and the collusive, practically conspiratorial legal system seem to have gone down without a hiccup. Apparently, the senators have been absorbing their lessons well.

And the senator from Delaware knew his audience: a bunch of guys with woman problems. Thus, with the support of fellow survivors of the Clarence Thomas hearings (Orrin Hatch is now the bill's chief co-sponsor), and the signature of guys with other types of woman problems (Ted Kennedy), the Violence Against Women Act was voted out of the Senate Judiciary Committee unanimously. After collecting sponsoring names outside the committee from *more* guys with woman problems (Bob Packwood, Daniel Inouye) and a coterie of those who usually subscribe to such endeavors (Barbara Boxer, Barbara Mikulski, Chris Dodd), the bill accumulated a total of 62 co-sponsors and is headed for debate on the Senate floor sometime this term. Given the rote way many of the co-sponsors seem to be thinking about it (Senator DeConcini, for instance, explained the bill to his constituents with a one-page handout written by an intern and entitled "Violence Against Women: A Violation of Society"), it will probably pass. Who would want to go on record as having voted against the solution to "violence against women"?

A Smorgasbord of Remedies

SO WHAT is the Violence Against Women Act? VAWA, for short—like the name of an avenging female demigod—is a smorgasbord, "a broad array of remedies" organized under six categories: "Safe Streets for Women"; "Safe Homes for Women"; "Civil Rights for Women"; "Safe Campuses for Women"; "Equal Rights for Women"; and "Violence Against Women Improvements." VAWA's underlying premise—threaded through the 65-page committee report—is that life is pretty much unremitting torture for women. As a staff report accompanying an earlier version of the bill put it, "At one point [women's] fears were confined to dark, secluded alleys. Now women must worry about crowded offices, local restaurants, and comfortable homes. For women, there is no longer any place they can call 'secure.'"

Most of VAWA is mere largesse-strewing—much of it to programs that are not needed and potentially destructive. There's $65 million for "rape education" (what would this look like exactly?) in junior highs; millions

Miss Gutmann is a writer based in New York.

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more for colleges to "fund rape education and prevention programs."

Some provisions seem like good ideas—i.e., grants for better lighting and cameras in parks and subway stations (though why should the Federal Government be getting involved?), and legal changes like the one requiring all states "to enforce any 'stay away' order [directed at abusive spouses], regardless of which state issues it."

A New Civil Right

BUT THE heart of VAWA, what Biden has called "the most innovative part," is Title III—"Civil Rights for Women"—which, according to his committee's summary, would "make gender-based assaults a violation of federal civil-rights laws" and allow victims of all felonies motivated by an animus against the victims' gender to bring civil-rights suits against their assailants.

On the face of it, the civil-rights remedy wouldn't seem likely to encourage lots more litigation from people with cases too weak for criminal court. State courts have all along permitted civil suits—where the standard of proof is "a preponderance of the evidence," rather than guilt "beyond a reasonable doubt"—for rape and domestic violence, and there haven't been floods of women bringing such suits. The usual deterrents to suing come into play—and also the usual deterrents to bringing rape charges. Particularly in cases of "acquaintance rape," we're talking a messy matter of "her word against his" in a context where consent is, let's face it, plausible. The process—rightly or wrongly—is not imbued with heroism. Unless you have a feminist lawyer whispering in your ear, "You're doing this for All Women," it's just bare facts, and very graphic and intimate facts they must necessarily be.

VAWA might change this aspect by sprucing up the charge a bit. (The Feds, after all, theoretically step in only where there is a "national interest" in stopping a certain type of crime and where there is a pattern of pervasive bias in the state courts.) However, even Sally Goldfarb of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund says, "Most experts have concluded that very few cases will be brought under Title III." "But," she adds, "these cases will be very significant for their symbolic public impact as well as for the individuals involved in these cases. The significance comes not from having a large volume of cases but from having a small number of cases that will set precedents and act as a deterrent."

"The purpose of this bill is to let people know what is offensive and inoffensive conduct," echoes Senator Hatch. "The existing criminal laws don't send that message." By literally making a federal case of it, the senators hope, as Senator Biden told the Associated Press, to "raise the consciousness of the American public."

But what message do they want to send? What are they trying to tell us and who, really, are the tellers? Here we come to the real reason to be wary of this bill.

In December 1991 (soon after the rape acquittal of William Kennedy Smith and the Clarence Thomas hearings), Catharine MacKinnon published an op-ed in the *New York Times* in which she laid out the rationale behind her long crusade to make rape a civil-rights violation. "What," she asked, "if Florida's case against William Kennedy Smith had been a sex equality case?" Miss MacKinnon answered her own question:

> Instead of asking did this individual commit a crime of battery against that individual, the court would ask did this member of a group sexually trained to woman-hating aggression commit this

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particular act of woman-hating aggression? . . . Set in a context of women's enforced inequality to men, the alleged victim would not have been seen as an exception. It would be clear that infinitely more rapes that do happen are not reported than are reported and do not happen.

Biden's office, which was spectacularly uncooperative for this article, wouldn't say whether Miss MacKinnon was a consultant on this bill, but we do know that her frequent collaborator Andrea Dworkin (famous for her statement that "intercourse is the pure, sterile, formal expression of men's contempt for women") *was* a consultant. The committee report cites a book by Stanford law professor Deborah Rhode, who recently announced at a conference that "white men make up only 8 per cent of the world population. I find that such an encouraging fact." Mary Koss, the mother of rape revisionism (her study is usually used to supply the national statistics in "date rape epidemic" news stories), makes many appearances in the report as well, especially to shore up claims like: "According to conservative estimates, as many as 84 per cent of rapes remain unreported." NOW Legal Defense has, as *New Republic* writer Ruth Shalit put it, "complete hegemony over the bill." When Miss Shalit said she needed someone to "walk her through the bill," Biden's office directed her to Sally Goldfarb, of NOW Legal Defense.

The point is, the view of rape as systemic is leap-frogging from the feminist fringe into more and more areas of our lives. Miss MacKinnon was the *drafter* of the final language of our new federal sexual-harassment law, the one that defines sexual harassment as pin-ups, jokes, stares—anything that creates "a hostile and offensive environment." (I remember a lawyer at a feminist law conference crowing that, now that the premise of actionable "hostile and offensive" work places was accepted, there was no reason not to press on with the concept of a "hostile and offensive world"!) The "rape crisis" feminists' obsession is that life is pervaded with men's hatred for women, that women are systemically pushed down, that the most intimate relationships are never free of this one-sided power dynamic. "Rape as an expression of male dominance has been tolerated because of our society's sexist attitudes," explained Sally Goldfarb. "One of the advantages of the bill is that it codifies the true nature of rape."

The worst thing about VAWA is how anxious the Senate Judiciary Committee seems to be to see the world through the redefiners' eyes. Its 65-page report—"The Response to Rape: Detours on the Road to Equal Justice"—attempts to show that rape and domestic violence are treated far more leniently than other violent crimes. That's how proponents of the bill make the case that there is systemic bias—as in race trials in the South—justifying the intervention of the Federal Government. The less than 100 per cent conviction rate in rape cases is presented as evidence of "the failure of the legal system," not as evidence that there are, sometimes, false accusations. After much guilt-slinging ("We are all responsible for the beliefs and the attitudes that allow us to apply rape laws grudgingly, with suspicion rather than sympathy"; "violence against women reflects . . . a failure of our nation's collective imagination"), the report relies on a barrage of statistics to show that crimes against women get perfunctory treatment.

But what about those numbers? Neil Gilbert, a professor of Social Welfare at Berkeley, has pointed out in the *Wall Street Journal* that "among the violent crimes of rape, robbery, and aggravated assault, the relation between reported crimes and convictions is equally deplorable. . . . the unfortunate news is that justice is appallingly thin all about—for all victims the norms are insufferable."

A lot of the other statistics are from shaky sources like Mary Koss. In a ubiquitously cited study, 43 per cent of the women she classified as rape victims hadn't classified themselves thus, and 40 per cent went on to sleep with their "rapists" again.

Or Dr. Andrea Parrot of Cornell University, who has written, "Any sexual intercourse without mutual desire is a form of rape. Anyone who is psychologically or physically pressured into sexual conduct is as much a victim of rape as the person who is attacked on the streets." Furthermore, "sometimes women don't recognize sexual assaults as rape. Education is necessary to sensitize both men and women to what constitutes rape." In this context, Senator Hatch's comment that the education and "sensitivity training" portions of the bill are crucial because "a lot of these people don't realize they're committing offensive actions or they're committing crimes" is particularly ominous.

It's important to note that Senator Hatch intervened in the drafting process in an important way. By adding a clause stating that to fall into the category of "crimes of violence," an action had to be felonious as defined by state or federal law, he narrowed the bill's scope and restricted the amount of damage it will do. Nonetheless, the bill will shift time and energy—both society's and the individual's—away from prosecuting real offenders for real crimes (which is difficult enough) and toward the endless, surreal courtroom struggles we will see when lawyers have to prove or disprove that an action was "motivated by gender animus." And the process of proving animus could be extremely intrusive. The bill's sponsors insist that either animus will be evident in the "immediate circumstances" or it won't (they use the hypothetical example of a man accosting women while yelling, "I hate women"). But civil-liberties lawyer Harvey Silverglate says that's not the way it has worked in civil-rights cases in the past: Perps don't go around shouting: "'Attention, this is a hate crime!' More likely [animus] is going to have to be proved by stuff like what kind of magazines are found in their apartment when the place is searched; what kind of attitude they have."

Dilemma Resolved

VAWA would also accomplish another radical feminist goal: it shifts the wrath of the plaintiffs and the legal system away from the individual rapist and onto the Establishment—a/k/a white males—thus resolving one of the central dilemmas for the Left: Abhorring violence

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against women collides with the fact that many of the most brutal rapes recently have been committed by—ahem—minorities. The rage (so politically incorrect) at, say, the Central Park Jogger defendants, who were all black or Hispanic, gets deflected onto "the men you know," "your boyfriend," "your classmate." (It is because of this deflection phenomenon, that the wildest assertions of "date rape is everywhere" on college campuses have typically followed a brutal case of rape by someone who is a stranger to the victim, a non-student, one of the urban predators who haunt the perimeters of big-city college campuses.) This factor was clear in the wrangling over upping criminal penalties in the new bill. Ruth Shalit reports that Biden told her: "We wanted to increase jail terms and they said, 'Hey that's aimed at black males.' When we took out the stiffer-sentencing provisions, the women's groups jumped on board."

In VAWA, 62 mostly exhausted, cowed senators think they have found an easy way to ingratiate themselves with the "authentic" women's lobby. But the damage this bill can do is not likely to be limited to the money wasted on sensitivity training or the encouragement to added litigation. Much of the education it funds will paradoxically belittle the crime the bill wants to punish, by confusing the real crime of rape with any sexual intercourse the woman regrets the next morning. And at the same time it would officially affirm the most toxic attitude of the "gender feminists"—that, as Catharine MacKinnon put is, men are "a group sexually trained to woman-hating violence." □

The Challenge for Pope John Paul

THE CATHOLIC CRACK-UP

On his visit to America, the Pope's main task will be to remind his flock what a church is *for*.

ROBERT A. SIRICO

WHEN Pope John Paul II arrives in the U.S. on August 12 to attend World Youth Day in Denver, he will find the American Catholic Church a house divided against itself. In the words of one crusty Franciscan, "The only thing holding the American Church back from a schism is the real estate." And that rift is tied in with other problems.

In 1958 about 78 per cent of Catholics attended Mass weekly (compared to 44 per cent of Protestants). Recent polls report that weekly Mass attendance has declined to 35 per cent, and some well-informed people (like a chancery official in an Eastern diocese who regularly travels throughout the country) contend the actual figure is closer to 25 per cent. While that is higher than the 13 per cent reported by mainline Protestant churches, it is reason for serious concern.

In 1952, 83 per cent of Catholics said religion was "very important" in their lives. Now only 54 per cent say that. Moreover, Catholics are the only religious group in America who report that religion was more important to them as children than as adults. This, more than anything else, reflects the extraordinary changes that have occurred in a single generation.

The reasons given for the decline are mixed, of course, with equal numbers citing the Church's adherence to tradition and the Church's having stepped away from it. In working with alienated Catholics, I have found that the reasons for dropping out are never entirely clear even to those who have left. Yet there is probably a clue in the fact that the churches enjoying an attendance boom, here and in Latin America, are evangelical and fundamentalist Protestant churches. People attend church because they yearn for a respite from the inadequacies of the secular world and seek an understanding of their lives on a more profound level. A church that goes too far in accommodating the values and vision of the secular world has defined away its distinctive appeal.

Preserving the Mystery

THE RIFT is reflected in disputes over the liturgy. Just 35 years ago there was only one basic, central prayer surrounding the sacrament. Since then, following the introduction of the New Order of the Mass in the late Sixties, diversity in forms of worship has gone beyond legitimate and historical pluralism. In some places rogue liturgies have become the norm. Conservative priests are being ostracized by their progressive colleagues simply for observing the rubrics as outlined in the official documents of the Second Vatican Council and approved liturgical texts. Catholics often find themselves shopping for services to their liking as Protestants have done for years.

As if to throw gasoline on the flames, news leaked out last year that the International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL) intends to push for updated and "inclusive" versions of the Our Father and the Creed. Such efforts will undoubtedly increase the alienation felt by many Catholics who attend Mass in search of stable truth in an unstable world. And not just the laity. Priests across the theological spectrum feel the alienation captured in a joke that has made the rounds of American seminaries:

Question: What is the difference between a terrorist and a liturgist?

Answer: You can negotiate with the terrorist.

All of this may explain the growing interest in liturgical forms which were in existence before the Second Vatican Council. The loosening of the restrictions on the old (Tridentine) Mass has resulted in fully one-third of the dio-

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ceses in the country now offering it once a week (most major cities have several in place), and the number is growing. What is heartening—and surprising to outside observers—is the large proportion of young people attending traditional Masses.

Society v. the Church

THESE tensions within Catholicism are compounded by its growing conflicts with American culture. Indeed, John Paul arrives at a time when American culture is increasingly suspicious of religious authority in general and hostile to the Catholic Church in particular.

This factor intersects in various ways with the disturbing issue of pedophilia in the priesthood. As those most familiar with the issue agree, we are dealing with a tiny number of errant clerics; the percentage of sexual abusers among the clergy is no greater than in any other profession that deals with children. Still, the media have had a heyday with this issue.

All too often it is difficult to get a straight answer from a Catholic leader on anything but the finer points of universal health care. What the public needs is an explicit recognition by the Church that priests who have committed such actions are involved in grave sin and that both the scandal and the sin will be directly dealt with. John Paul addressed the issue forthrightly in a June letter. But his message was diluted a few days later when a spokesman said we "must ask if the real culprit is not a society that is irresponsibly permissive, hyper-inflated with sexuality" such that it would "induce even people who have received a solid moral formation to commit grave moral acts." Liberal syndicated columnist Colman McCarthy was able to make much of the spokesman's equivocation, likening it to a "devil-made-me-do-it theory" and "the secular ethic of guilt-free rationalizing." He had a point.

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"Carlsbad, your assignment is to get out there and find out which way the wind is blowing."

The culture is indeed irresponsibly permissive regarding sex, but that is all the more reason why those charged with correcting the external situation must be held to high internal standards. The Church must stand against the culture's decline, not use it as an excuse. Nor, however, should the "sins of the fathers" cause us to overlook the unsubtle campaign against priestly celibacy by the media, which base their reports on the assumption that celibacy itself is either a source or a symptom of sexual pathology.

Women in the Church

A RELATED cultural conflict has been the role of women in the church. Even as older sins have been forgotten, the contemporary mindset has imposed rigorous sanctions against newly discovered sins, the most pernicious of which is "discrimination." To treat men in any way differently from women in public life, and increasingly in private life, is to be held guilty of this sin.

It is in this light that most Americans view the demand for women's ordination. Many Americans simply cannot fathom the idea that distinct obligations and prohibitions can define and divide people, including the sexes.

Herein lies the gap in understanding between Rome and many in the American Church. Advocates of women's ordination see the matter as one of rights; Rome and traditional American Catholics see the matter as one of theology, ontology, and ecclesiology. In this view, women are no more excluded from the priesthood than men are excluded from motherhood: "exclusion" rests on the presumption that one could be *included*.

Certainly, Rome should address reasonable claims consistent with history and theology. What is un-Catholic and destructive is to debate the issue on the basis of raw political power, which is the context in which most feminist theologians have set the debate.

This polarization alarms even some progressives. Father Charles Curran, who taught theology at the Catholic University of America until the Vatican suspended his mandate for his dissenting positions (he is now chairman of the Department of Humanities at Southern Methodist University), sees the need for all sides to be very careful. He is concerned that as numbers of special-interest groups within the Church rise, Catholics affiliated with them develop a greater commitment to their particular interest than to the general community of the Church. He cites "Woman Church," a feminist movement on the Left, as posing this danger. Groups on the Right, such as the followers of the late Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, underscore the logic of Curran's point.

This issue has become more divisive since the Church of England voted to ordain women. In doing so, Canterbury implied a willingness to accept the demands of progressives at the expense of closer union with Rome and the Orthodox churches. This, in turn, has caused significant numbers in the Church of England to look across the Tiber. This slipover effect may give Rome a more conservative momentum and also generate a new era of ecumenism—or, to be more precise, a new *sort* of ecumenism.

Coming Together

IN THE 1960s, a millenarian optimism swept Christendom that predicted the end of differences between Catholics and other Christians. Much of this involved an effort to minimize differences by agreeing on the least offensive common faith—which has often meant the least clear. Essentially this brand of ecumenism meant liberals in the Catholic Church "dialoguing" with liberals in the other churches—mostly mainline Protestant.

Since then, the mainline Protestant churches have undergone dramatic changes. The most obvious of these has been a drastic decline in membership, owing largely to their emphases on a (liberal) political agenda. This has left Catholic liberals "dialoguing" with Protestant leaders who have no substantial constituency.

Today, a new form of ecumenical association, conspicuously lay-driven, is

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informally replacing the older model. This new ecumenism has emerged from the picket lines in front of abortion clinics, from the local school-board meetings where parents are objecting to condom distribution, and from public campaigns opposing propaganda for promiscuity masquerading as AIDS education.

Unlike the liberal ecumenism, however, the new ecumenism has not lost its overarching religious basis and identity. People who come together in these movements are likely to pray and open Bibles together as well as argue doctrine. Through participation in these movements, Catholics have learned to appreciate the spontaneous narrative of evangelical prayer, and born-again Christians to value the ancient traditions of liturgical prayer. In quiet but important ways, this new ecumenism may have already subverted the well-intended distractions of the old ecumenism.

But the new ecumenism presents its own problems. In the U.S., as in Latin America, the claims of evangelical fundamentalism have an appeal for those longing for a rigorous application of Christian faith. This has stimulated the development of an evangelical Catholicism in reaction to an intellectual Catholicism that has grown increasingly sterile and uncertain in tone.

But the very point of religion is to give clarification about the origin, meaning, and destiny of human life. This cannot be achieved by glossing over intellectual challenges and ignoring the evidence of the world around us. Thus, the Catholic tradition, of which our philosopher-Pope is such a striking example, is built on the union of faith and reason. John Paul cannot sacrifice one to the other.

His mission, then, must be to prevent an exodus from his Church, invite a reconciliation with those already alienated, and restore the harmony between faith and reason. And in doing these things, he must also resolve an old tension between Catholicism and Americanism, and perhaps create a new one.

The American Spirit

FOR over a hundred years, both liberals and conservatives, for entirely different reasons, have argued that the Catholic Church cannot fully integrate itself with America. Yet Pope John Paul seems to have discerned the roots of the American philosophy to a greater and deeper extent than any of his predecessors, as evidenced by his landmark 1991 encyclical *Centesimus Annus*.

Rocco Buttiglione, who serves on the Pontifical Commission on Peace and Justice and has been a philosophical collaborator with the Pope for many years, believes that *Centesimus Annus* represents "a much needed step forward in the dialogue between the Catholic Church and the American spirit." In this extraordinary treatise, John Paul reflects on the meaning of socialism's collapse in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union (a series of events in which he and his Church played a large role, as George Weigel documents in *The Final Revolution*) and explicitly recognizes that the spirit of economic enterprise is in fundamental accord with Catholic social teaching.

When one reads John Paul's explanation of the price system, his defense of property, and his account of the dehumanizing effects of the welfare state, one can see a significant acceptance of the morality of the American idea. Father Curran contends that those, like Michael Novak, who argue that *Centesimus Annus* draws upon the insights of the American experience are exaggerating the case. But he concedes that the encyclical "certainly employs a different terminology," par-

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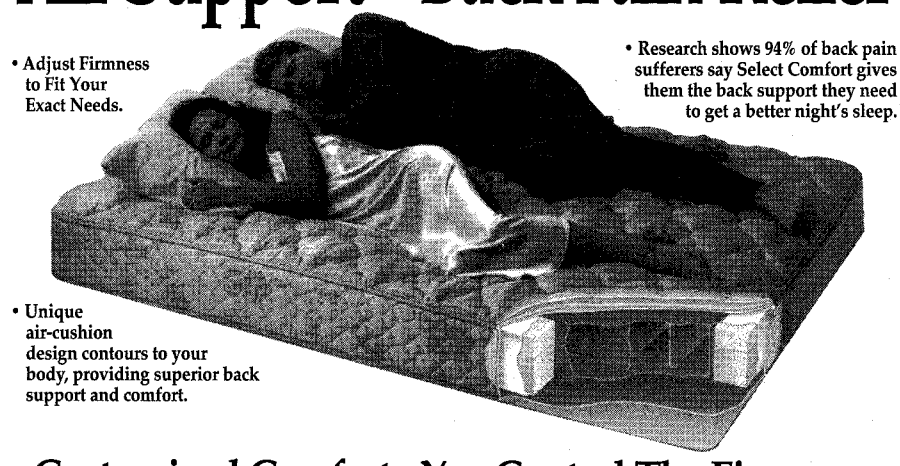
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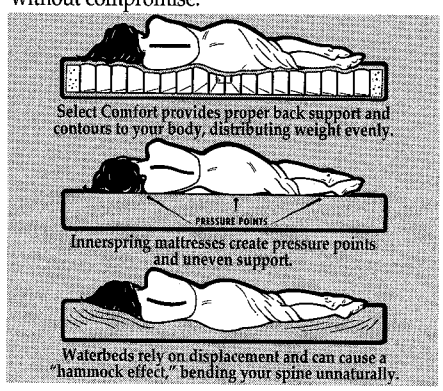
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ticularly in its discussion of the welfare state.

At the same time, *Centesimus Annus* is shot through with criticism of modernity's material decadence and cultural weakness, which the Pope traces to spiritual sickness. Here he can be seen as radically critical of certain tendencies in American culture. But this criticism is a challenge not only to secular forces in American sociey. Progressive Catholics, while often critical of the American economic system, have in recent decades sought to reconcile Catholic teaching with moral laxity. A criticism of it is also a criticism of them. The message of *Centesimus Annus*, combined with the moral teaching of the forthcoming *Veritatis Splendor*, is likely to challenge some Catholic clergy and laity, as well as the American people at large, precisely where they think themselves most moral.

It will not be easy. In today's Catholic Church, nothing shocks like the reassertion of old truths. The Theologically Correct will fret that the Pope intends to ban theological speculation. In fact, his short visit may provide a necessary corrective to the tendency toward complexification in many Catholic intellectual circles.

Doubtless the Pope will also be accused of violating the spirit of the Second Vatican Council. The view survives, on both the Left and the Right, that the purpose of the Council was wholesale renovation. To John Paul, however, the Council's purpose was to construct a new idiom for the proclamation of old truths—exactly what is needed in the American Church today. Indeed, the current defenders of the Council are drawn from the ranks of a new generation of conservative students of the actual Council documents, who are aware of how modest its mandate really was.

Many leaders in the American Church, including some bishops, have approached the teachings of the Council with a more expansive understanding of what it was to accomplish. To ask them to reconsider the Council's meaning at this point is to ask them to reassess the bulk of their careers. Indications are that John Paul understands the impossibility of demanding that everyone immediately adopt some new posture or practice. He has resisted pressure from both the Left and the Right to make such demands. His strategy, pursued with tact and delicacy, has been to reinforce tradition with confidence in the power of truth to moderate recent excesses.

The primary source of strength and growth in the Church today is those who believe its central claim, who love the beauty of its prayer, who appreciate the Pope's efforts to preserve doctrinal integrity and coherence, who long for a stronger exercise of the Church's moral authority, and who pray for a renewal of spirituality in America. □

Clintonomics: The Road to Serfdom

AMERICA'S WAR ON SUCCESS

Mr. Clinton is waging class warfare. If he wins, the victims will not only be the 'rich.'

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

ON June 23, Northwest Airlines was forced to pay up to settle a lawsuit brought by the U.S. Justice Department. In hiring pilots, the airline was "guilty" of favoring U.S. citizens over non-citizens. Northwest, not wanting to invest in temporary pilots or entrust them with its passengers' safety, required non-citizens to submit declarations of their intention to become citizens before considering their employment applications. The airline also required non-citizen applicants to have permanent work authorization.

Justice Department special counsel William Ho-Gonzales spotted discrimination in these sensible requirements. He extorted from Northwest a $10,000 fine, plus compensation of non-citizens for lost salary from not being hired, plus an agreement that the airline would rewrite its hiring policies and send all its pilot-hiring personnel to government-provided training sessions to clear their minds of any presumption that U.S. citizens should be preferred for employment in their own country.

Our culture was grounded in opportunity and merit—"a career open to the talents"—and that was the basis of America's success. No more. Quotas and race- and gender-norming are shunting merit and ability aside. Indeed, in many parts of the country, it has become almost impossible for an employer who wants to hire a competent workforce to require high-school diplomas and use school grades as an indication of ability. Since such measures of individual performance tend to vary by race—a larger percentage of whites than blacks, for example, have diplomas—they have a "disparate impact" and can thus lead to a lawsuit for racial discrimination.

Many Americans have lost a substantial part of their wealth settling these phony discrimination lawsuits brought by the Federal Government and the plaintiff bar. But the suits are ultimately even more damaging to the class of people they are supposed to help. Mr. Clinton babbles endlessly about education reform, but as Michael Heise of the Hudson Institute has shown, quotas have made diplomas and good grades meaningless. Why study hard or even graduate from high school when prospective employers can be sued for relying on such performance measures? Civil-rights regulations have killed American meritocracy.

There is literally no business deci-

Mr. Roberts, who was assistant secretary of the Treasury for economic policy in 1981–82, currently holds the William E. Simon chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

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sion that is not now the Federal Government's business. But the case brought against Northwest significantly broadens the Justice Department's attack on the rights of U.S. citizens. White males have been sitting ducks for quite a while. Almost by definition racist and sexist in everything they do, they were stripped by the 1991 Civil Rights Act of their access to the courts in cases of reverse discrimination. But now that non-citizens have been given special rights (probably leading to quotas, as there is no other way for employers to prove that their policies do not have a disparate impact), black U.S. citizens will find that any gains they have made at the expense of whites will be lost in turn to non-citizens.

Mr. Clinton v. *the Rich*

THE ATTACK on the basis for America's success, however, is far more general than quotas. President Clinton propagandizes against the rich, attempting to deprive them of legitimacy. His favorite lie is that Reagan excused the rich from paying their fair share of the tax burden by cutting their tax rate. If truth were respected in public discourse, this would be a dangerous lie to tell. The reason is simple. Every year the Internal Revenue Service puts out a volume, *Statistics of Income*, which reports the percentage of the federal income tax paid by various percentiles. The figures show that in every one of the Reagan years, the percentage of the income-tax burden borne by the top 1 per cent, the top 5 per cent, and the top 10 per cent rose inexorably. The burden on the top 1 per cent rose from 17.6 per cent in 1981 to 27.5 per cent in 1988—a 56 per cent increase! The burden on the top 5 per cent of earners rose from 35 to 45.5 per cent, and the burden on the top 10 per cent rose from 48 to 57.2 per cent. During these same years, the burden on the lowest 50 per cent fell from 7.4 per cent to 5.7 per cent, a 23 per cent decline.

From time to time the Treasury Department puts out a news release on the IRS data, but these facts are conscientiously ignored by news organizations and Democrats. Again, the reason is simple. The bottom half, who are the audience for the anti-rich propaganda, would not believe that a tax

"Some see the glass as half empty, some see it as half full . . . I see it as taxable."

system that falls so disproportionately on the rich is unfair—except to the rich. Unlike liberal intellectuals, the poor still have a real sense of fairness. Sticking 1 per cent of the population with between a quarter and a third of the income-tax burden and 10 per cent with almost three-fifths of the burden is raw plunder. The U.S. used to be a land of opportunity; today it is a country where if you succeed, you become a resource to be plundered.

The U.S. tax system's punitive attitude toward success will be worsened by the 1993 tax legislation sponsored by Bill Clinton and the congressional Democrats. The rise in income-tax rates and the surtaxes on personal and capital-gains income are coupled with a larger earned-income tax credit—a refund of taxpayers' money to those who don't earn enough to pay income taxes. The temptation to live like a bum will be further strengthened by Mrs. Clinton's free health care, since only those who work will have to pay.

President Clinton and the liberals in Congress and the media know as well as I do that Ronald Reagan's tax-rate reductions resulted in an upward shift in the tax burden. They lie about the tax burden on the rich because they are afraid to put their real agenda before the people. What the Clintonistas really want is equality of result. Their real objection to Reagan's supply-side policy is that it encouraged successful people to earn even more money, thus widening income differences. The real reason they want an incrase in the income-tax rates is not to shift more of the tax burden to the rich—it won't—but to discourage people from efforts that widen income differences.

Stealing from the Poor?

IN SHORT, success itself is being criminalized. Once it became widely accepted—first in the universities, then in the media, now in political debate generally—that the economy is a zero-sum game, anyone who has anything is automatically suspect. The inference is that he or she must have stolen it from the deserving. Success cannot be legitimate if it is perceived to be based on discrimination or on theft from a zero-sum economy.

The new rising groups pushed up by civil-rights lawsuits have no meritocratic concept of success. Their positions are rooted in race, gender, and disability privileges, just as the feudal aristocracy's rights were based in class privileges. So they have no interest in preserving—indeed they have every interest in eroding—the meritocratic principle.

Many years ago Benjamin Cardozo warned that law has a tendency to unfold to the limits of its logic, no matter how absurd the results. The attack on success and the destruction of the conditions for success are accelerating in the United States. Even school sports are falling into disrepute, because not every child can excel. This is considered to be unfair, especially to females and the disabled, who are unlikely to play quarterback on the football team. Since both groups now have special rights not to be discriminated against, the outlook for competitive sports is problematic.

This may seem inconceivable, but so did racial quotas in 1964. □

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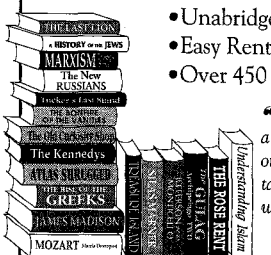

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A Debate

HOW BIG THE TENT?

Mr. Campbell takes issue with *NR*'s account of his sort of Republicanism. Harold Johnson replies.

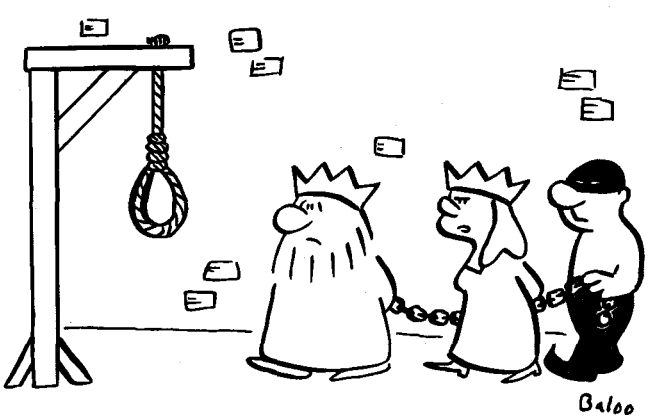
TOM CAMPBELL

THE Republican Majority Coalition was founded last December to refocus the Republican Party on economic and fiscal conservatism, free trade, law and order, a strong defense, and maximum individual liberty. In his *Wall Street Journal* op-ed of December 8, 1992, President Reagan identified these as the issues that unite Republicans. "As to other issues that draw on the deep springs of morality and emotion, let us decide that we can disagree among ourselves as Republicans and tolerate the disagreement," Reagan wrote.

How could Ronald Reagan justify excluding issues of morality from the definition of the Republican Party, a party founded on moral opposition to slavery?

The key is in Reagan's other phrase, "maximum individual liberty." Consider the question of abortion. Clearly, Reagan was referring to this issue. People must make their individual decisions on moral grounds, but they disagree as to whether abortion is moral or immoral. Maximum individual liberty supports minimal government involvement in the question. If one is certain full human life begins at conception, of course, abortion is itself an intrusion of the greatest kind. But how can one know that full human life begins then? The question is indeed a moral one, fundamentally of a religious, not governmental, nature. Later on in a pregnancy, one can point to objective criteria to argue for the beginning of full human life; but to hold that the moment is conception, one must have recourse to religious principle. And, Reagan appeared to be saying, that's too far for government to intrude on private morality.

Eleven years earlier, Senator Goldwater sounded a strikingly similar note in his October 1981 article in *Church & State*. "I'm frankly sick and tired of the political preachers across this country telling me as a citizen that if I want to be a moral person, I must believe in 'A,' 'B,' 'C,' and 'D.' Just who do they think they are? And from where do they presume to claim the right to dictate their moral beliefs to me?" Once again, we have a prominent Republican conservative objecting to the intrusion of a "moral" issue into politics.



"'Give Parliament enough rope,' you said. 'Give Parliament enough rope and they'll hang themselves,' you said."

Goldwater is pro-choice; Reagan is not. Yet each appears to believe that this "moral" issue has no place in defining Republicanism. Each is a champion of individual liberty; that includes the primacy of individual conscience. We Republicans believe government intrusion into the workplace, into international trade, into entrepreneurship, requires a very strong reason, which is frequently quite lacking. Why does our skepticism over government intrusion not continue over to the issues that Reagan characterized as drawing "on the deep springs of morality and emotion"?

Stay Focused

IF REPUBLICANS could simply focus on the economic issues, they'd find that President Clinton is handing us a very full plate to digest. Virtually all Republicans agree that we should reduce the deficit far more dramatically than Clinton does; that spending cuts are the only reliable way to cut the deficit; that tax increases have, in modern times, almost always led to even greater spending. Virtually all would agree that a great prescription for many social pathologies, including the break-up of the family, is to return real growth to the economy, with jobs in the private sector attainable for all seeking them. And all Republicans can take pride in the defeat of the Soviet empire, orchestrated and brought about by President Ronald Reagan, at a time when most Democrats were critical of his hard line in negotiations with the Soviets. Let us emphasize those points, and we will have the strength to unite our party, for the good of our country.

In this publication, an article recently appeared ["None of the Above," by Harold Johnson, April 12] attacking the Republican Majority Coalition and me, its chairman, suggesting that somehow we do not live by the Republican principles of economic conservatism and party loyalty. The facts are: 1) The National Taxpayers Union announced that I was the single lowest spender in Congress, out of all 435 members. 2) In my four years in Congress, I never voted for a tax increase. 3) I have walked precincts registering new Republicans, raised money for our party and its nominees, and, including the last Senate race in California, always

Mr. Campbell is a professor of law at Stanford University and the national chairman of the Republican Majority Coalition. He was the director of the Bureau of Competition in the first Reagan Administration, and served in the U.S. Congress from 1989 to 1993.

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supported the party nominees and withheld any criticism during the general election campaign.

The ideals of our party will not succeed unless, as President Reagan said, we unite behind those deeply held principles we agree on and "decide that we can disagree among ourselves as Republicans and tolerate the disagreement." □

A CAMPBELL SAMPLER

HAROLD JOHNSON

TOM CAMPBELL's ode to broad-mindedness on social issues reminds me of an observation by Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council: By "tolerance," many modern liberals mean the armtwisting of those they consider "intolerant": "Their goal is 'diversity': Everyone gets to be a liberal!"

Consider Tom Campbell's agenda. Like most liberals, he is an avid booster of funding for abortion-on-demand for Medicaid recipients. In other words, he's pro-choice—except for taxpayers, whom he would muscle into the Planned Parenthood crusade, regardless of their qualms or their "maximum individual liberty." (Sure, he used to oppose tax subsidies for abortion—"I don't want to get into any funding for killing"—but he has grown since then.)

A proposed homosexual-rights measure he co-sponsored also employs coercion against the culturally out-of-step. It would put the squeeze on mom-and-pop landlords, among other targets. Say a family is renting rooms in its house and refuses, out of personal conviction, to consider gay couples. Under Campbell's law the landlords could be hauled into court. Did somebody say something about "the primacy of individual conscience"?

As for the unborn child's rights, she has none. As a congressman, Mr. Campbell put his name on the Freedom of Choice Act, which goes well beyond *Roe*, apparently barring even modest protections—waiting periods, parental consent, spousal notification—and permitting abortion even after viability.

And, before he goes quoting Ronald Reagan to support abandoning the GOP's commitment to protecting the unborn, Mr. Campbell ought to read "Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation," Reagan's 1983 essay that calls on Americans to "reaffirm the sanctity of human life, even the smallest and the youngest and the most defenseless." That stance helped the GOP, in three presidential elections, cement an electoral alliance more dynamic than anything Tom Campbell's "majority coalition" promises, perhaps in part because it honored ethics over expediency.

Fiscal Conservative?

WHAT ABOUT Campbell's purported conservatism on money matters? He has embraced the California school-voucher initiative (it goes before the voters this November), and he is talking up reform of the Endangered Species Act; he has always claimed to be a Milton Friedman acolyte, a prophet of free markets and lean government. But be wary. For the most part, the record doesn't match the rhetoric. Campbell does indeed have high marks from the National Taxpayers Union, but the NTU has a blind spot when it comes to indirect taxation. During his time in the House, Campbell, with an ACU rating of just 50, was busier than any other California Republican promoting back-door burdens on the economy, from the quota-heavy Civil Rights Act of 1991 to the job-killing Americans with Disabilities Act and Clean Air Act to Pat Schroeder's paternalistic family-leave mandate.

And although he voted against the 1990 tax hike, Mr. Campbell doesn't mention that he repeatedly urged President Bush to abandon his "read my lips" vow, in the name of deficit reduction.

A Campbell sampler:

In April 1988, he argued that levies should be raised "on alcohol, tobacco, and gasoline." Also: "Taxing consumption. That is such an apparent solution."

In February 1989, the *San Mateo Times* reported him saying, "I am prepared to deal with the deficit with taxes as well as with spending cuts."

In June 1990, he suggested raising the income-tax rate for the highest brackets to boost Treasury receipts by $9 billion.

In July 1990, according to the *Peninsula Times Tribune* of Northern California, Campbell said, "I think [a tax increase] is overwhelmingly good for the economy."

In May 1991: "Gasoline ought to be priced higher in this country."

And the capital-gains tax? Running for the GOP Senate nomination last year, he told some Republican audiences he wanted this levy reduced on both existing and future assets. But a year earlier the *San Diego Union* reported him as saying he agreed with the Democrats' criticism that cutting taxes on existing assets would be "a windfall for the rich."

Of course, Tom Campbell is by no means the only cheerleader for the big-government Republicanism that helped make George Bush a one-termer. And he also has considerable company in his effort to unhinge the party from its ethical moorings on social issues.

But if he shouldn't be denied a place in the Big Tent, it would be quite another thing to grant him what he really wants—a spot in the ringmaster's circle, where he would help determine the party's shape as it enters the twenty-first century.

Mr. Campbell is favored to win an upcoming special election for a seat in the California State Senate. In that job, will he finally start backing up his free-market homilies with free-market votes? If I'm a skeptic, it is because up to now, his "New Conservatism" has amounted to little more than Rockefeller Republicanism updated, pointing down the same path the liberals have always loved—the one lined with primroses. □

Mr. Johnson, a frequent NR *contributor, is an editorial writer for the* Orange County Register.

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1993

Dear Rusty,

This will have to be a quick one, Rusty. We're kind of in a vote crunch here. Remember our budget package that passed the House and the Senate? Well, now it has to pass the House and the Senate again.

The first Senate vote was pretty exciting, especially since I cast the tie-breaking vote! I'm not sure the vote coming up will be so close. A lot of our former allies in both houses have changed their minds, which I don't think is fair. Or necessary. What it means is that I have to work the old Al Gore charisma and get out the vote in the Senate. Between us, Rusty, I'm a little tired of being the slick one of the team. This isn't exactly how I pictured it. How am I supposed to reinvent and streamline government if I have to promise each senator that I won't do either in his home state? Or hers, when I'm talking about California. I'm getting a little cynical out here, Rust.

About the only fun thing left is my National Performance Review sessions with federal workers. Last week I held one at HHS. I usually try to stand up there all by myself, without any supervisors or Cabinet secretaries around to intimidate the employees. People naturally open up to their Vice President, and I don't want to inhibit that by having a lot of stiff-looking, humorless bureaucrats around. You know how I like to cut loose.

Anyway, the HHS meeting was perfectly timed, since the Secretary of HHS was out of town. Every year about this time, Secretary Shalala, Susan Thomases, Molly Ivins, and Carol Bellamy go on a rafting trip down the Colorado, which sounds like a lot of fun. They paddle the rapids, camp under the stars, and hold informal policy-reform discussions—the whole thing sounds like a real kick.

You know how much I love Donna, Rusty. So I told her way in advance that I wanted to hold this meeting while she was on vacation, and she was terrific about it. She even asked if Tipper and the girls would like to come rafting with them, which I thought was above and beyond. But when I called Tipper from Donna's office to ask her if she and the girls would like to go along, she kind of stuttered for a minute and dropped the phone. Tip's been a little edgy since she dropped all that weight.

To be totally honest, though, the idea of those four gals rafting down the Colorado River together made me a little nervous. We've had a lot of rain up here, and the Colorado is running very fast and very high. (I predicted this in my book, Earth in the Balance.) I didn't want to sound sexist, but at the same time I didn't want to wake up one morning to see the headline in the Post: "HHS Secretary Lost in Rafting Accident / Marian Wright Edelman Called Possible Replacement." So I decided to mention my concerns to Donna, and she seemed touched by my interest, but apparently Susan Thomases spent the spring "building up her triceps," so that put my mind at ease. Donna asked again about Tip and the girls, but by that time Tipper had called me back and it turned out that they were busy. It's just as well, though. I think they would have been bored by all that policy talk.

The meeting went pretty well. What this Administration is trying to do, Rusty, is to make government run more like private enterprise, and vice versa. It's actually a lot harder than it sounds. Federal workers can't be fired; they can't be transferred; they can't be graded; and they can't be promoted without expensive and sometimes unnecessary training. Just think if General Motors ran their company like that!

So even though my first love is reinventing government, I'm stuck begging votes from my old pals in the Senate. I promise you: if we win the vote next week, I'll head down to Brazil to visit you. So keep your fingers crossed.

I've got to level with you, Rusty. This letter isn't about the HHS meeting, or the budget bill. I've been thinking a lot lately, and I've got something that I want to ask you. I'm a little nervous, so bear with me. Even though I went to St. Alban's and Harvard—I wasn't a Rhodes Scholar because I didn't apply and I was in a hurry to get into the Army and serve my country in Vietnam—I'm not as sophisticated as some. At heart, I'm just a simple Tennessee farmer. I'm not comfortable asking personal questions. "Don't ask, don't tell" is my dad's motto, though he mostly uses it when anybody asks him how many highballs he's had.

So here goes.

Rusty, you're not married. You don't have a girlfriend that I know of. You spend all of your time in Brazil, doing research, or here in Washington drumming up funds. Now, I've been writing you every two weeks for about a year, so I feel entitled to ask you this: How come you haven't written me back?

It's not like you don't have the time, right?

C'mon, Rusty. Friendship is a two-way street.

Your pal, Al

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And the Moral Is . . .

RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS

THIS IS a beautiful book, and intellectually persuasive in its beauty. Among the many points made by Wilson—professor of public policy at UCLA and one of the most morally astute social scientists of our time—is that there is a closer connection than many think between the aesthetic, the philosophical, and the moral. Although Wilson does not put it this way, the "three transcendentals"—the good, the true, and the beautiful—are complexly interrelated, and it may be that most people intuit that this is the case. Wilson does assert that his purpose is to help people "recover confidence" in what they already believe to be the case.

In the modern era, intellectuals and people who have been too much influenced by intellectuals have been intimidated into stifling "the moral sense," the belief that we know how we ought to act and live. One says, not in criticism but in high praise, that the present book is an extended footnote to Aristotle, Francis Hutcheson, and Adam Smith, all of whom took "human nature" seriously and understood the indispensability of "moral sentiments." These worthies knew well the shadowed side of human behavior and the propensity to sin, but they gave a vigorous rational defense of what Wilson calls moral "dispositions." It is the dispositions, not the specific moral rules, that are universal, Wilson contends. The dispositions belong to what it means to be human, and without some sense of what it means to be human, he notes, we are in no position to say what is inhuman.

The Moral Sense, by James Q. Wilson (Free Press, 283 pp., $27.50)

"The truth, if it exists, is in the details," writes Wilson. "This book is about the details; it is the result of scavenging through science in order to illuminate everyday life." Wilson is a very thorough scavenger indeed, collecting an astonishing array of studies from the biological and social sciences that bear upon human behavior. Almost all of these are engagingly presented and woven together in a way that undercuts the blithe relativism of our high and popular cultures.

The much discussed "culture wars" have been going on for centuries, according to Wilson, at least since the Enlightenment. One might suggest that the Enlightenment project is more internally various than Wilson allows, but he is surely right in saying that, all in all, the Enlightenment raised to dogmatic status the belief that morality consists in rational rules of universal applicability. Its epigones have also effectively disseminated the doctrine that an "ought" cannot be derived from an "is," thus precluding the pertinence of empirical evidence and common sense regarding what is natural for human beings. Wilson attends assiduously to what we might call the "isness" of things, believing that therein is to be found the source and sustaining power for the moral sense.

Katherine Trunk

First he examines the moral sentiments themselves and argues that the most important can be treated under four headings—sympathy, fairness, self-control, and duty. To each he attaches definitions that themselves invite further reflection. For example: "Duty is the disposition to honor obligations even without hope of reward or fear of punishment." At almost every step he anticipates objections. With respect to duty, for instance, he knows that "a reader eager to reduce all human motivation to self-interest narrowly conceived may interpret what the Good Samaritans or the Holocaust rescuers did as efforts at reputation-building, but taking this view so stretches the concept of self-interest as to deprive it of any meaning." Whether Wilson's response refutes the self-interest analysis or simply indicates the almost infinite subtlety of self-interest others may decide. Moreover, he does not engage a classic argument that there is no choice to be made between morality and self-interest "rightly understood." But these are the kinds of questions and quibbles that are raised by almost every page in this intriguing book.

We inescapably make moral judgments, says Wilson. It is a fact of everyday life only thinly veiled by relativistic chatter about our having "different values." The distinctions between kind and unkind, selfish and loving, heroic and cowardly are native to all of us. "If we purged our discourse of such terms, the only difference between Tiny Tim and Scrooge would be their age." In his examination of duty, Wilson makes extensive use of the Samuel and Pearl Oliner study of those who rescued Jews from the Holocaust, and of Admiral James Stockdale's memoir of eight years as a POW in Vietnam. Among the many behavioral studies discussed, Wilson obviously takes wry pleasure in reporting on one that asked people to choose between two investment programs, one that would help the individual and the group, the other that would help only the individual. "In the 12 versions of this experiment, only one group of subjects clearly preferred to be free riders by shunning the group project—graduate students in

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economics." So much for a "realistic" definition of self-interest.

The second part of the book treats the sources of the moral sense. Here Wilson examines man as a social animal, the crucial role of families, gender differences, and the aspiration toward a universal morality that transcends clan and tribe. Given the current intellectual climate, Wilson knows that he must walk on eggs in discussing gender differences. He sides with Harvard's Carol Gilligan in believing that there are such differences, with men tending to emphasize justice, fairness, and duty, while women stress sympathy, care, and helping. There are also fascinating studies indicating that, in the division of goods and burdens, men care more about equity and women about equality. That is, men are more likely to calculate a "just" division based upon an individual's contribution or cost to the group. In addition, men tend to be "hierarchical" in a way that accords with the organization of modern institutions, thus putting women at a distinct, and perhaps permanent, career disadvantage in such institutions.

You can usually tell when an author gets into a subject that he truly relishes, and this is evident in Wilson's chapter on families. It is about as good an antidote as is available to all the carelessly chic talk about alternative families and modes of child care. "It is easy to make either of two mistakes," he writes, "to suppose that the child is a blank slate or to think he is a miniature adult." B. F. Skinner and some Freudians make the blank-slate mistake, proposing that the child is "conditioned" to a morality imposed by the society. "For all the difference it made [according to these theorists], people might as well have been Labrador retrievers." From the earliest stages, Wilson contends, children are the subjects of their capacity for moral development within the matrix of the family. But Wilson has little use for the moral-development theories and "values clarification" schemes proposed by Kohlberg and others. "I am a bit suspicious," Wilson writes, "of any theory that says that the highest moral stage is one in which people talk like college professors."

On all the subjects mentioned—plus the moral significance of property, the logic of consanguinity rules about who can marry whom, the universality of dispositions against cannibalism, infanticide, and incest—the reader will come away from this book informed and fascinated by the remarkable range of studies and theories brought together by this master scavenger. I believe the book admirably achieves its declared purpose; namely, the reader will be more confident, less tongue-tied and embarrassed, in making unapologetically moral arguments about how people ought to live.

Critical readers may also, however, leave the book with a number of dissatisfactions and frustrations. Wilson is sometimes given to obiter dicta that occasion puzzlement. For instance, at one point he says there are no "moral absolutes." It is true that on his account there are no commands from God, but there are certainly moral dispositions that he has spent most of the book convincing us are universal and constitutive of being human. These might qualify as absolute by some definitions. Especially in the first part of the book, Wilson makes a great effort to buttress his argument with speculation about evolutionary theory. For readers who are in thrall to the scheme of evolution, those sections will be of special interest, and indeed might suggest that the behavioral patterns described by Wilson are confirmed by the most absolute truth available to them.

Also disappointing is the author's strained effort to separate the questions of infanticide and abortion. He addresses the former with intelligence and in great detail, but he wants to maintain silence on the latter. The two, he says in a footnote, "cannot be subjectively equivalent actions because the mother can only imagine a fetus but can see and touch a neonate." Mothers, one suspects, have a relationship to the unborn child that goes well beyond mere imagining. Perhaps Wilson simply wants to avoid, as much as possible, subjects that might offend the essentially liberal, educated, secular audience he has in mind. Thus, where one would expect to find it, there is no treatment of homosexuality and the claims of the contemporary gay and lesbian movement. Surely this is today one of the most agitated subjects regarding "the moral sense" as it pertains to human sexuality. Inferences can be drawn from Wilson's argument, but on these current disputes he is inclined to maintain a discreet silence.

There are also occasional statements so improbable that one is compelled to think that at times the author wrote in haste. In discussing the difference between shame and guilt, for instance, he notes the role of the conscience, or what Adam Smith called the "man within the breast." "Unlike some other person," Wilson writes, the inner man "*knows* our real motives. We can fool our friends, but not ourselves." Really? Most of the great literature in moral philosophy and theology, including much that is cited by Wilson, devotes the most serious attention to self-deception. Wilson himself writes insightfully about the conflicts and ambiguities in our passions and self-understandings. He at points seems to be proposing an almost Augustinian understanding of human nature, although, to be sure, Augustinianism without God.

The treatment of religion—or, more accurately, the non-treatment of religion—is the most unsatisfactory part of the book. Wilson tells us that "the most astonishing thing about the moral development of humanity" is the aspiration toward the universal. The universal he has in mind, however, is entirely a socio-historical universal. There is no reference to the transcendent, no reference, for example, to Aristotle's highest good. Although he laments modernity's break with the classic moral tradition, Wilson dramatically breaks from the tradition that he would champion by relegating the transcendent to the category of the irrelevant. Like Emile Durkheim, Wilson contends that morality is socially constructed (backed up by bio-evolutionary forces). Unlike Durkheim, he has no time for religion as the supreme social construct and formative control.

Wilson declares that social habituation, not religion, is the source of moral virtues. As though religion were not a crucial part of social habituation for the great majority of mankind. Wilson asserts: "Religion is for many a source of solace and for a few a means of redemption, but if everyday morality had depended on religious

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conviction, the human race would have destroyed itself eons ago." This obiter dictum is not argued, nor is it supported by the massive evidence that in this society the great majority of people claim to believe that morality is derived from religion. As I have argued elsewhere (*America against Itself*, 1992), the Oliner study suggests that religion may have been the most important variable for Holocaust rescuers. Even the more committedly secular of our time are, as often as not, dissatisfied with the notion that morality is simply a matter of biology and social convention.

The Moral Sense is, nonetheless, a significant achievement. In a society where many people have been trained and intimidated into pretending otherwise, Wilson convincingly demonstrates that moral judgment and moral argument are inescapable. He revives the hope that Americans might again be confident enough to address, in their personal lives and in the public arena, the great questions about how we *ought* to live. □

Always Be Prepared

FAREED ZAKARIA

REMEMBER Thomas Malthus, the gloomy English cleric who prophesied, in 1798, that England's population growth would lead the country to poverty and mass starvation? Well, he's back, this time with computer graphs.

Paul Kennedy, Dilworth Professor of History at Yale, has written a self-consciously Malthusian book about the global trends that will swamp us in the next century. Pick a trend, any trend—population growth? global warming? water shortages? biotechnology? Kennedy discusses each one carefully, and by the end of every chapter he gets quite depressed.

Preparing for the Twenty-First Century, by Paul M. Kennedy (Random House, 428 pp., $25)

This is not an entirely facetious point. In fact it is what makes this highly intelligent book incomplete. *Preparing for the Twenty-First Century* gathers together an impressive array of data and integrates it in a sophisticated manner. It is lucid and even well-written. But the book is informed by a deep philosophical pessimism which makes it more effective for the sounding of alarms than as a comprehensive discussion of the issues it raises.

Many of the trends that Kennedy describes are, by themselves, very troubling. But it is wrong to dwell on these trends alone and to ignore the human response that such pressures cause. In the past, great pressures have caused people either to respond and counter these forces or at the very least to adapt and survive. This is why many dour predictions from the past—the "Club of Rome" report, for example—have not materialized over time.

Nineteenth-century England survived, indeed flourished, because it was able to counter the demographic pressures upon it. Malthus was disproved by three great counter-trends that he did not foresee: mass immigration to America and other new worlds, the technological improvements in agriculture, and, most especially, the Industrial Revolution. Wealth grew faster than the population, thus unlocking the "Malthus trap."

Today, Kennedy points out, there are no new lands to fill, and while giant leaps in technology happen daily, they take place in the laboratories of the advanced industrial world. The population explosion, meanwhile, is taking place in the poorest parts of the so-called Third World. It is this mismatch that is novel and that troubles Kennedy most.

But consider one extraordinary advantage that a poor country today has over its eighteenth-century predecessors. *We know what creates wealth.* Over the last three centuries Europe and America stumbled onto the recipe for economic success—free enterprise, the rule of law, and an openness to education, innovation, and experimentation. Today we know that this is the only secure path to development, and we see countries of every shape, size, and color that follow this path succeed. A generation ago the East Asian countries of South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand were spoken of in the same breath as Bangladesh and Burma. Today we speak enviously of the East Asian model of success. (Of course, these countries have not solved their demographic and environmental problems, but these issues are being addressed in the context of an ever-expanding economy, which makes all the difference.)

Again, Kennedy has his doubts. He fears that most countries will not be able to emulate the historic success of Holland, England, the United States, and Japan. Few countries have the cultural receptivity to innovation and enterprise necessary to become "winners" in the twenty-first century.

The root of the problem, then, is not the structural pressures themselves but the willingness and ability of a country to adapt to these forces. The essence of the problem today is cultural. Can ancient and once powerful civilizations come to terms with the fact that to become a successful state today implies copying and adapting important Western traditions and practices? Can they accept that to become more modern they must become more Western? This is the question that has paralyzed the Arab world and India and that still plagues China and Japan. One Indian writer, advocating an indigenous approach for his country, explained, "Even if we succeed on their terms, we will remain slums of the West."

But modernity is not so Western as to rob people of their identity. Millions of middle-class Asians and Latin Americans hold together modern practices and ancient beliefs with relative ease. And cultures are far more adaptable than we imagine. Over the past century we were told successively that Catholicism, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shintoism all emphasized the wrong attributes for economic success. But as states within these civilizations sought to succeed, people adapted their cultures in innovative ways, and today we marvel at how perfectly suited "East Asian culture" is to capitalism and only wonder what took them so long. (As for being slums of the West, comparing Hong Kong, Singapore, and Tokyo to New York, London, and Berlin, one is left won-

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dering which are the slums and which the shining cities.)

The reason that Kennedy has become so controversial a figure, however, has little to do with his discussions of robotics or global warming. Paul Kennedy is America's foremost "declinist." (In fact it was in a review of his last book, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, that Samuel P. Huntington coined the term. The more conventional-sounding "decliners," Huntington explained, could mean that the writer and not his subject was declining, clearly not the case with Kennedy.) In this book Kennedy continues the argument of *Rise and Fall*, that the United States is in relative decline and that, if unabated, this trend will result in the gradual loss of America's worldwide influence and global position. This argument has been met with jeering catcalls, particularly in conservative circles.

This is sheer folly. Conservatives have boxed themselves into an odd corner when discussing America's relative decline. Instead of a properly inquisitive posture, they have so shunned curiosity on this subject that it has become an article of faith that all talk of relative decline is defeatist nonsense. If any particular statistic suggests otherwise—well then, that statistic is itself dubious.

This unwillingness to engage the issue frankly stems from a concern with the *causes* and the *consequences* of such a discussion. Conservatives fear that to talk about relative decline will validate the liberal criticism that "Reagan did it." To prolong this discussion, they fear, is to make acceptable leftist remedies such as large public "investments" and taxes. Neither of these concerns is warranted because the diagnosis is not accurate, nor is the remedy inevitable.

Any serious discussion of America's relative economic performance shows that slippage in the U.S. share of world gross product begins (following the inevitable slippage from the peak position of 50 per cent after World War II) in the late 1960s or early 1970s. This decline is quite minor, moving from roughly 26 or 27 per cent to 22 or 23 per cent. To say that any particular Administration "caused" this problem is absurd. It results mainly from certain inevitable factors—mainly the "catching up" effect of other countries, many of which built new industries on the ashes of the ones that were destroyed in the war.

To the extent that government policies aggravated this trend we surely know what did it: the explosion of deficit spending from the mid 1960s onward, which shifted the United States from an investment-based economy to a consumption-based one; the explosion of "rights" and the attendant explosion of litigation; the decline of rigorous and scientific education; the decline of public safety; and the breakdown of social institutions such as the church and the family. For 25 years conservatives have been vigorously opposed to these broad developments. Yet when told that these developments have had a serious and deleterious effect on America's well-being they now express shocked disbelief. For years important conservative voices have advocated radical reform of the education, legal, banking, and tax systems. How urgent and necessary can these reforms be, however, if things are going fine without them?

The proper conservative attitude toward this subject should, first, be relentlessly inquisitive. Statistics, instead of being ridiculed, should be carefully examined (after all, these same statistics showed the United States unrivaled for much of this century). There should be no gloating over Germany's or Japan's troubles, as if our only hope lay in the fact that these countries are taking on some of our failings. Instead, conservatives must offer an explanation of the causes of America's troubles and a program that will solve them. Paul Kennedy has interpreted the world; the point is to change it.

In the most important work written on the rise and decline of nations, the social scientist Mancur Olson explains that ultimately what does a great nation in is sclerosis—the structures, the interest groups, and the culture of stasis and complacency that prevent a society from adapting to a changing world. If this is true then the United States is by far the best positioned of the major industrial countries to move efficiently into the twenty-first century. Certainly more than Europe, but also more than Japan, this nation has the flexibility of labor and capital, but also of social structures and human spirit, to adjust constantly to new circumstances. Reform is urgently needed, but surely "reforms" that create more regulations, rules, rights, and taxes are unlikely to break down sclerosis or enhance flexibility. What is needed, perhaps, is a return to the spirit of this country's younger days, when America was more concerned with creating wealth than with distributing it, when old-fashioned virtues such as hard work were still honored, even when breached, and when self-indulgence had not been raised to an art form. James Kurth put it well: "When Americans try to prepare themselves for the next century they can perhaps best do so by recovering those qualities of character that prepared them so well for this one." □

The Last Crusade?

J. B. KELLY

ONE OF THE peculiarities of relations between the Muslim and Christian worlds over the past 13 centuries has been the minimal interest taken by Muslims in the countries and peoples of Christendom (to use a word considered outdated in our secular age). This lack of curiosity, Bernard Lewis explains in the introductory essay of this stimulating collection, derived from a profound conviction of the superority of Islam, as the final revelation of God's truth to mankind, over both Christianity and Judaism. Muslims, in short, had nothing to learn, spiritually, morally, or intellectually, from the adherents of an imperfect and outmoded faith.

The conviction of superiority was naturally reinforced by the Muslim Arab conquests of the southern, western, and eastern shores of the Mediterranean, by the vanquishing of the Byzantine Empire by the Ottoman

***Islam and the West*, by Bernard Lewis (Oxford, 217 pp., $25)**

Mr. Kelly's Arabia, the Gulf and the West, *has been reissued in paperback by Basic Books.*

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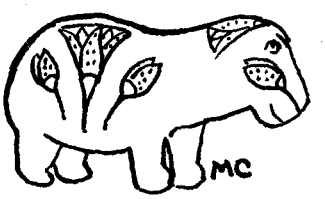
Turks, and by the subsequent extension of Ottoman rule into the Balkans. It was not until the failure of the second Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683, an event to which Lewis ascribes crucial importance, that doubt set in. Doubt, but not yet fear, also arose over the expansion of Europe in Asia, Africa, and the Americas from the late fifteenth century on. But again, the lack of curiosity prevented the realization, at the heart of Islam, of what these developments might presage. Europe was of interest only insofar as it produced devices of use to the Muslim powers, especially in the field of armaments. "But as far as possible," Lewis observes acutely, "these [devices] were stripped of their cultural associations and thus reduced to dead artifacts, without organic roots." The civilization that gave birth to them was unworthy of attention in itself.

In contrast, European scholarship on Islam, the Arabic language, and the Muslim peoples dates back to the late Middle Ages. Initially it was prompted by religious antipathy and by the fear of subjugation by the armies of Islam—in other words, "know thy enemy." With the Renaissance the motivation for study underwent something of a change, although the element of fear did not fully recede until the Turkish retreat from the gates of Vienna. What Europe was now intrigued by was the opportunities for trade, for service as military instructors, and for diplomatic relations with Muslim governments, the Sublime Porte in particular. But there was something else at work beyond these practical considerations, and this was the European tradition of scholarly inquiry, of the pursuit of learning for its own sake, a tradition that, as Lewis pointedly remarks, was entirely lacking in the East.

Lewis himself is the very embodiment of the Western scholarly tradition. Formerly Professor of the History of the Near and Middle East at the University of London and Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton, he is one of the greatest authorities in the world on the history, institutions, and culture of Islam, a man of remarkable literary and linguistic accomplishments, whose mastery of sources in a range of Oriental and European languages is so complete, and his capacity for critical analysis and judgment so profound, as to be positively intimidating. Yet he writes with such clarity and grace about complex, even esoteric, aspects of Muslim law, theology, and history as to make them readily accessible to the non-specialist reader.

He examines the subject of Western intellectual curiosity about non-Western lands, peoples, and cultures, and the corresponding absence of such curiosity among Muslims, in two thoughtful essays: "The Question of Orientalism" and "Other People's History." Because they themselves are uninterested in the study of other races and civilizations (an observation that could be made of Asians as a whole: Indians do not study the Japanese, nor Arabs the Chinese) Muslims are puzzled by Western scholarly interest in them. Rather than welcome it, they tend to suspect and resent it, ascribing it to dark, ulterior designs upon them, their lands, and their resources. Although Lewis demolishes without difficulty the arguments advanced by some of the more irrational exponents of this view, he admits that it does exert an appeal in the present intellectual climate in the West, dominated as it is by hysteria over racism, Eurocentrism, and alleged callous neglect of the Third World's woes. Yet at the same time, such is the chaotic condition of the contemporary *bien-pensant* mind, the university campuses of America ring with vociferous demands for the institution of all manner of courses on non-Western cultures. As Lewis comments dryly: "If we don't study and teach other cultures we are called arrogant and ethnocentric and if we do we are accused of spoliation and exploitation." One wonders sometimes if there is a similar clamor on campuses in the Middle East for the study, say, of Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* or Dante's *Inferno*, or if any Arab, Turkish, or Persian scholar has bothered to translate works like these into his own language.

The last section of Lewis's book (the essays are grouped into three sections in roughly chronological order: "Encounters," "Studies and Perceptions," and "Islamic Response and Reaction") is devoted to what is seen in the West as the revival of Islam, a subject on which, as Lewis demonstrates, a considerable degree of confusion reigns in Western intellectual and political *milieux*. The confusion arises primarily from the inability of the current leaders of Western opinion to understand the centrality of religion to the life of a society. Having themselves relegated religion to the sidelines of life, they simply failed to grasp, at least until lately, how powerful an influence Islam remained in the Middle East. Nowadays, of course, they find Muslim extremists under every rumpled bed.



Lewis traces the origins of present Islamic militancy to the adoption by Muslim thinkers of Western secularist ideas deriving from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Because one of the attractions of these ideas was that they were not of Christian provenance—indeed, were deeply hostile to Christianity—the Muslims did not see that they were also a threat to Islam. Now that they have perceived the threat that secularism poses to their faith, and realized that the political nostrums imported from the West have failed to cure the ills of Muslim societies, many Muslims are prepared to accept the arguments of Muslim divines that only through Islam and its institutions can Muslims find a remedy for their social and political malaise. Hence the emergence of what in the West has become known as "Muslim fundamentalism."

While various Christian churches of late have begun to relinquish their claim to be the one, true faith, Islam never has. Europe is having to confront this unsettling reality as millions of Muslims from Asia and Africa arrive and settle within its frontiers. It is an entirely new phenomenon, Lewis emphasizes, this voluntary migration of Muslim peoples to countries that had never been part of the *dar al-Islam* (literally "the House of Islam," i.e., the Muslim homeland). In years gone by, Muslims living under European rule were either communities, notably in the Balkans, that had remained *in situ* after the reconquest of Christian lands, or they were the subjects of the European empires in Asia and Africa.

The situation of the present-day Muslim communities in Europe had never been visualized by the classical Islamic jurists when they addressed

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the question of whether or not it was permitted to Muslims to live under non-Muslim rule. Generally, they concluded, it was not. How the question will be answered by today's jurists has yet to be seen, but the answer, in Lewis's view, will not be easy to formulate. European law may accord Muslims the right to practice their faith freely and openly, but this is not enough for a true believer. Islam is as much a legal, political, and social system as it is a religious faith. The law governing the Muslim community is the *sharia*, the law of Islam, which regulates every aspect of a Muslim's life and is applied by *qadis* (judges) in *sharia* courts. Moreover, a Muslim is enjoined by his faith to command and forbid, i.e., to exercise authority. In any conflict between Muslim and non-Muslim belief, the former must prevail. A Muslim also has a duty to proselytize but must not himself be converted to another faith: the penalty for apostasy is death. Among expatriate Muslims today, Lewis writes, "many still feel that it is their God-given duty to command what is good and forbid what is evil, in their new no less than in their old homes." If the tide of migration continues to flow as it has, and if the resurgence of Islam persists, Europe may well find itself, as in the Middle Ages, having to fend off the Muslim invader—without the spiritual backbone which medieval Christianity once gave it. □

Dress for Success

J. O. TATE

NEO-VICTORIANISM has a lot to be said for it, particularly when it is executed with flair. The swing of the pendulum sometimes reminds us of how much, not how little, we have in common with our predecessors. After all, the Victorians were the ones who led the way into modernization, the ones who agonized so memorably about faith, the ones who first explored the cultural terrain of the twentieth century. Needless to say, in the Anglophone world, the great Victorians were the ones who set the nearest standards in prose, in fiction, and in poetry before the transition into modernism. Even the Victorian experiments in the exercise of social responsibility, in colonialism, and in military intervention suggest all sorts of harmonics today. The spirit of Ruskin, the ghost of the younger Arnold, the shade of Dickens—these and many others hover about our heads when we think of the contradictions of capitalism, the disintegration of culture, and our responsibilities at home and abroad.

Angels & Insects: Two Novellas, by A. S. Byatt (Random House, 352 pp., $21)

There are various remarkable people today who represent a spirited and successful neo-Victorianism. Paul Johnson, who vigorously blends history and journalism, is one. Lady Thatcher is another one, in another way. George MacDonald Fraser has for years been writing the outrageous "memoirs" of Harry Flashman, whose roguish adventures are an education in Victorian history. And there are other people and associated trends, such as neo-Victorian domestic architecture, which has been such a great relief for our eyes.

One particular neo-Victorian artifact that had a certain success was the last book of A. S. Byatt. Her *Possession: A Romance* was a bestseller in 1990. *Possession* had going for it a dynamism of structure: two young academics become involved with each other as they study, respectively, a male and female Victorian poet whose own relationship is exposed, as the counterpoint of then and now is developed. But even in *Possession*, though the structure is imposing, the texture is blighted by arch voice-overs, donnish quotations, and the various antimacassars and doilies with which it was tricked out. In any case, I doubt that such success is due for the two novellas constituting *Angels & Insects*, which seem to add up to a *Hamlet* without the prince, or a Masterpiece Theater without a masterpiece.

We do not go to the Victorians for finesse, as a rule. Nor to A. S. Byatt. For one thing, like a Victorian narrator, she follows the reader around with a cowhorn, instructing him in thought and reaction, rather than rendering an action and letting the reader enjoy the illusion of freedom in his engagement with the text. *Morpho Eugenia*, the first of the novellas, sets a penniless naturalist against a wealthy family whose behavior is supposed to resemble that of insect societies. When William Adamson is politely dancing at the house of the Alabasters, he remembers a palm-wine dance in primitive circumstances somewhere near the Amazon. The contrast should speak for itself, but not when A. S. Byatt is in charge:

> Nothing he did now seemed to happen without this double vision, of things seen and done otherwise, in another world.
>
> "You are thinking of the Amazon," said Eugenia.
>
> "Are you gifted at thought-reading?"
>
> "Oh no. Only you looked far away. And that is far away."

Such dialogue makes me realize how hard it is to concentrate on the irony of Victorian ideas when I am reaching for an air-sick bag.

Neither have I been bowled over by Mrs. Byatt's powers of description, which seem to have been modeled on the language of ladies' magazines and Harlequin romances: "She was wearing a blue dress, trimmed with tartan ribbons." "She was wearing a nightgown in broderie anglaise, and the well-brushed hair fanned over her shoulders." "But she did appear there once or twice, delicious and vulnerable in white muslin, with sky-blue ribbons, and a little white parasol, and stand, waiting, for his attention, which she rewarded with a slow, secret little smile." This sort of thing might be written off as irony, I suppose. But even if it is ironic, you still have to read an awful lot of that stuff to get through *Morpho Eugenia*.

You have to read as well even more passages of high-minded conversation about the troubling ideas of Mr. Darwin. You must attend as the characters quote at length from Ben Jonson, John Milton, Robert Browning, and so on, as though Mrs. Byatt were thinking of one of Matthew Arnold's least graceful moments: "Who prop, thou ask'st, in these bad days, my mind?" You must endure the elaborate com-

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parison of insect and human societies, an idea that I may not be alone in finding hackneyed. Finally, the reverse romance in which the resourceless male marries the mysterious female with the big house is exploded by the rudest of reversals, and then capped by a fairy-tale happy ending and escape to true life, love, and happiness. Does that sound cozy enough? I kept hoping that the novella would collapse into a short story, but no such luck.

The second novella, *The Conjugal Angel*, is a better work than its sibling—it does more with less. The world of seances and Swedenborgianism leads to a vision of Tennyson himself, as characters try to sort out the past and the contradictions of body and soul. But *The Conjugal Angel* still has the emetic properties of *Morpho Eugenia*. There is much smarm here which spoils the metaphysical poetry, the attempt to get at the paradoxes of the spirit and the flesh. I was quite downcast but confirmed in all suspicions to read this cloying passage on the second page:

> Lilias Papagay, a few steps ahead, wore wine-dark silk with a flounced train and a hat heavy with darkly gleaming plumage, jet-black, emerald-shot, iridescent dragonfly blue on ultramarine, plump shoulders of headless wings with jaunty tail-feathers, like the little wings that fluttered on the hat or the heels of Hermes in old pictures. Sophie Sheekhy wore dove-colored wool with a white collar, and carried a serviceable black umbrella.

Now that everyone is all dressed and ever so lovely, on with our story!

But the trouble is there isn't much story. As the narrator says of Mrs. Papagay, "She knew she was straining." And though the long passage on Alfred Lord Tennyson thinking about his poem *In Memoriam* would no doubt make a nice crib for an exam in Victorian Lit, it would make an even nicer example of the failure to dramatize for creative-writing class. There are, to be sure, passages of imaginative intensity and rhetorical energy, but all in all, this female revision of Tennyson's life and poetry is too parasitic on its material. It's an intelligent and earnest cut-and-paste job. Finally, it is criticism and analysis rendered inappropriately and clumsily as fiction. However, to make sure that there is something cutely commercial, this meditation on life and death and Arthur Hallam and Immanuel Swedenborg crashes at the end of the runway into a mere happy ending at which only the violins were missing before the lights came up. There's nothing like a good cry, and with two novellas, some readers will get through two boxes of hankies in one book.

As the sun sinks slowly into the West, I want to add here my identification of the one thing better than neo-Victorianism, or at least the one thing better than the unsolicited, even unprovoked rearrangements of A. S. Byatt. And that is the real thing itself. I mean *In Memoriam* complete and not the postmodern scramble of it, as well as Mill, Darwin, Cardinal Newman, Huxley, the Brontës, Thackeray, Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell, Collins, Carlyle. The jerry-built contrivances of Mrs. Byatt remind us that we needn't be reading contemporary rehashes when we have so readily to hand the monumental originals. □

FILM

Thrillers, with and without Frills

JOHN SIMON

THRILLERS seem to proliferate in the summer, perhaps on the assumption that in the hot weather chills are especially welcome. And so they are when they are as well made as ***In the Line of Fire***. Written by Jeff Maguire, a 41-year-old who was about to quit Los Angeles in disgust, his screenplay was accepted, then rejected, by a number of stars until Clint Eastwood took it on. Eastwood gives it one of his by now customary solid and intelligent performances. The current buzz is that he keeps getting better and better, and surpasses himself in this one. Actually, he has been good for a long time, and he is no better here; it is just that American audiences and reviewers wax sentimental about stars with prolonged staying power. If Lassie were still with us, she'd be right up there with George C. Scott.

This is the story of Secret Serviceman Frank Horrigan, who is close to retirement age but still a top agent, except that he is haunted by his one fiasco: he did not take a bullet for JFK when he was guarding him in Dallas. Now he finds himself looking for a man who is threatening the current (fictional) President on his re-election campaign trail. Presidents are menaced by all sorts of cranks, but this threat, Horrigan feels, is serious. For this potential killer, by a trail of newspaper clippings he deliberately plants, reveals that he knows exactly what he is doing, including disturbing allusions to Horrigan's one costly failure. And forthwith Horrigan starts getting nocturnal phone calls from this man of many aliases and faces, whose deadly skills are no less numerous. He has even built a device that makes it virtually impossible to trace his calls although Horrigan's phone is bugged.

The self-proclaimed assassin-to-be is both psychotic and infernally clever, as movie psychos invariably are. He was once with the FBI and has a great many tricks up his sinister sleeve, even though he also has a sick need to expose himself (he fully expects to pay with his life for his ultimate crime), and an equally sick one to play on Horrigan's nerves and pangs of conscience while purporting to be his friend. The nature of this game is fascinating, but remains underwritten, as is also Horrigan's romance with a fellow agent, Lilly Raines, which begins as mutual teasing but evolves into a potentially absorbing love affair. This aspect of the plot is especially underdeveloped, but it is hard to sandwich in a mature love story amid all that elaborate thriller stuff, commendable as the human value of the effort may be.

No new heights are scaled in the film, but neither does the tension ever sloppily subside. The overconscientious and aging Horrigan is hampered by colleagues and superiors, there are costly rivalries between members of the Secret Service and the CIA, there is a series of well-staged ancillary killings and many a rousing foot chase, always more rewarding than car

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

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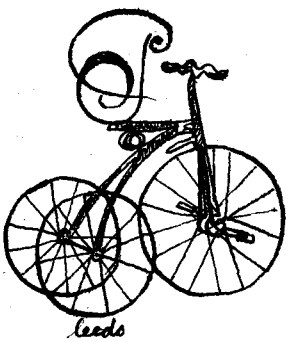
chases. True, all good thrillers are forced to cheat a bit, and this one is no exception. But it cheats as little as possible, and neatly avoids expeditions into the heartlands of the preposterous.

John Malkovich, always dubious when cast as the hero, makes a most satisfying heavy. He is both suave and creepy, and although he looks naturally weird, it is a fascinating, eloquent weirdness. The script, moreover, allows him to say horrible things that do make some dreadful sense. He manages to convey real intelligence along with the dementia, and just as he is able to get under Horrigan's skin, he gets past our own defenses and makes us forget that in this sort of movie—unlike in life—crime never pays, thus heightening the suspense.



As a capable Secret Service agent and reluctant love interest, René Russo is almost too well cast. She has the unyieldingly clean-cut quality one associates with policewomen from meter maids up, and palpable sturdiness in her features. But there were moments when, watching her, I longed for a touch of delicacy about her face, for a brow not quite so beetling, a nose and chin less monolithic; why, even her name, René Russo, lacks that feminine and vulnerable mute second "e." Lesser roles are also savvily cast, with actors—other than the excellent John Mahoney—not overfamiliar. It is sad, though, to see John Heard, usually a fine leading man, reduced to a minuscule role.

Wolfgang Petersen, the German director, scored a well-deserved international success with *Das Boot*, and has other interesting European films to his credit. I am happy to report that I was instrumental in winning for him the Best Director award at the now defunct Paris Film Festival for *Black and White like Day and Night*, the best film ever about chess but a flop in America, perhaps because of the jarring jingle in its English title. His American movies hitherto were less than felicitous. Now, however, he finds the right tempos, and some excellent, lightly stressed visual effects, such as the sudden appearance of the Capitol dome behind the criminal's head. He has a true flair for camera placement, as in the low-angle shots of Malkovich fabricating his weaponry, and with such a strong, no-nonsense cinematographer as John Bailey at his side, he gives the film a sharply etched, vibrantly colored, but never arty look. And however brutal *In the Line of Fire* gets, Petersen does not let it get out of control: the horror is mostly psychological, the menace potent but subtle.

■ A much more problematic picture is ***Rising Sun***, made by that pretentious director Phil Kaufman, based on a novel by Michael Crichton (trying for something even spookier than *Jurassic Park*), and shot by Michael Chapman, an able but often overreaching cameraman. Here the plotting is supercomplicated, the twists more convoluted than those of a python with a bellyache, and artiness is everywhere. Crichton has clearly made a study of Japanese business and social practices that could be turned to good use, but couching it in such sensationalist trappings effectively undermines its efficacy.

A beautiful young woman is discovered dead at the grand party celebrating the opening of the Nakamoto Corporation's new Los Angeles quarters, one of those topless steel-and-glass towers where less is not so much more as way too much. Up in the boardroom, a carpeted flight above the insouciant partying, the body lies on the conference table (a symbol?), with choke marks on the lovely neck—the girl liked to be near-strangled during sex—and enough surveillance devices on the walls for there to be a disk that recorded the murder. But who has the disk? And in a company that manufactures the most up-to-date—indeed future—technology, can one trust the disk, when it finally turns up, not to have been doctored, not to tell a supremely lifelike, hard-to-detect lie?

This is the sort of thing that confronts our pair of detectives, John Connor and Web Smith, and what a strange pair they are! Web (Wesley Snipes) is a black man once embroiled in a bribery case in which Lieutenant Harris, a white racist (Harvey Keitel at his manic best) involved him, and though his own guilt was minimal, it left a cloud over his head. He is a lively fellow, as good at breakdancing as at karate and wisecracking, in which last department, however, he is surpassed by Connor (Sean Connery), an older, mysterious policeman, who is assigned to Web in an unorthodox manner.

Connor, who, as he explains to Web, will be the *senpai* (senior partner) to Web's *kohai* (junior partner), with all the ritual appertaining thereunto, is so Japanese in his ways that he may be a double agent. The buddy relationship between the two is indeed more ceremonial and ceremonious than usual, but otherwise the film's only contribution is to make every situation not just double-bottomed, as is customary in this genre, but actually triple- or quadruple-bottomed, usually backed up with elaborate computer (or other) technology, to the point where the human element virtually seeps out of the picture.

Kaufman, alas, thinks of himself as an intellectual director, which has propelled him into such pretentiousnesses as poorly remaking *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, and ruining such a genuine masterwork as *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. Anaïs Nin, the past mistress of pretension, is responsible for having encouraged young Phil to become a filmmaker, and he repaid the debt by adapting one of her memoirs into *Henry and June*, a movie that managed the not inconsiderable task of being as repellent as Miss Nin's writings and ego (assuming the two are separate). Here the screenplay is by Kaufman, the equally grandiose Michael Crichton, and Crichton's partner, Michael Backes, who was a consultant to Apple Computers and display graphics supervisor on *Jurassic Park*. Condignly, *Rising Sun* looks like some enormous, insufferably gimmicky graphics display rather than a movie with meaning.

For starters, extreme closeup is used exhaustingly in situations where it does not belong, along with all kinds of arty-looking blurriness both in the visuals and in the writing, making the film diffuse, obsessive, and hopelessly opaque, as if anything dealing with Japan had to be inscrutable. But Kaufman did accomplish something by engaging Toru Takemitsu to write the background score. Takemitsu is not only a distinguished film composer, but also a world-class serious music

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writer, whose works are often heard and recorded in the West. Here he has written music of unusual aptness and subtlety, which understands the meaning of "background," and is content to remain inconspicuous, almost subliminal, and thereby enhance rather than heavily underline what the visuals are conveying.

One could say that *Rising Sun* is a movie to be watched with eyes closed, for the music, if it weren't for three people. First, Sean Connery, as polished, urbane, and charming as ever; then two delicious women: the German Tatjana Patitz, opulently voluptuous but unfortunately killed off all too soon; and the Hawaiian Tia Carrere, whose less heady, more elusive sensuality is just as captivating. □

MANNERS IN MANHATTAN

Wall-Eyed

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

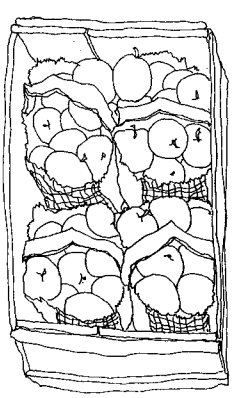
"IN LOS ANGELES, no one can hear you scream," says a paranoid friend of mine. Living in a free-standing house in one of that city's semi-suburban quasi-neighborhoods, she has always felt unnerved by the distance between her and her neighbors. Whereas in New York paranoia feeds on proximity, which is, I think, the reason I have been feeling paranoid lately. Specifically, it's the obscene graffiti that have begun appearing about me on some pleasant residential side streets of the Upper West Side.

It was the first day of Shavuot, the Jewish festival that commemorates the giving of the Torah by God at Mount Sinai. On Shavuot, after an all-night session of lectures by rabbis, Scriptural verses are chanted narrating the most awesome event in the Bible: from a pillar of fire, the voice of God was heard by 12 tribes' worth of very much alarmed Israelites. On two stone tablets God then inscribed ten basic moral obligations and handed these to Moses.

Someone had inscribed a commandment on the stone wall next to the stoop at 238 West 74th Street, but it wasn't God. The time was 7:30 in the morning, and, sleepy as I was, I had to look twice to make sure I wasn't seeing visions. My name was printed clearly enough in block letters, preceded by a dash. Above was an obscene sentence, in crisp Anglo-Saxon, which delicacy prevents from being reproduced here. The effect was like a quotation drawn from a book, maybe *Bartlett's*.

For a long time I stared at the writing on that wall. Then I went home and looked for other people in the white pages with my first and last name. But I had conducted this search before—embarrassing to admit, but hasn't everyone?—and knew I was the only me in Manhattan. In the next few days I brought friends to see the graffiti. As we sat on the stoop, speculating, residents of the nondescript brownstone came in and out. I asked an Asian couple when the words had first appeared: one morning a week and a half ago, they said. No one had seen the author.

Maybe this person was simply drunk after an evening of booze-pounding on Columbus Avenue, and spontaneously wrote out the first words that came to mind. However, the fact that the graffitist had an unusually fat magic marker to work with seemed to argue against an unplanned act of vandalism. Could it perhaps be one of the couple of women I'd dated since the beginning of the year? Feeling unjustly scorned, had she decided to teach me a lesson? But, sadly, in both cases I had been the one unjustly scorned.



Then could it be a writer who had sent his unsolicited manuscript to me at work, whom I'd replied to with an impersonal "Dear Mr. Blah-blah, Your submission does not meet our editorial needs at this time"? Could it be the not quite well-known author whose novel I had panned in a small-circulation arts review? It would almost be flattering to think anything I had written could provoke such strong feelings, but this seemed doubtful. No, the insult on the stoop lacked a suggestion of aggrieved professional pride. Clearly the graffitist felt a deeply personal irritation. I couldn't think of anyone.

Then, walking home from a jog in Central Park, I found more graffiti: the same words, on the side of a more elegant Beaux Arts townhouse on West 77th, between Columbus and Amsterdam. A few days later there appeared more, at 76th and Riverside, and 76th and West End, across the street from my own apartment. And still more: on 75th between West End and Riverside. Same thing. Even the punctuation was identical.

The most disturbing thing about the whole business is the impenetrable anonymity of the writer. It's often said, mostly by out-of-towners, that New York is an anonymous city, by which it's meant that you can disappear into crowds, never be recognized, never meet your neighbors. I understand now that that's true in one sense, and not in another.

Before I get the chance to spray paint over my name on those various brownstone and brick façades (I haven't yet), hundreds of people will walk by, and maybe read the graffiti (since, unlike most graffiti, these are neither illegible nor rendered in youth-gang jargon). A few of those pedestrians will know me, and wonder how well they know me. Anonymity in such a crowded city is impossible. In Los Angeles, this would never be a concern. The chance that an item of graffiti written about John Smith, near his house in Santa Monica, will be read by his acquaintance Jack Sprat, who lives in Westwood, is virtually nonexistent. In this sense, L.A. is the ultimate anonymous city: except when you choose not to be, you are generally alone.

New Yorkers are never alone. It's surprising that street crime happens here at all, since muggings and rapes require solitude for the proper intimacy between criminal and victim, and in New York you have to go looking for a genuinely deserted block of street. Furthermore, whereas at night it can get dark in some parts of L.A., New Yorkers are never without light, at least the artificial kind. Outside my

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windows on West End Avenue, with street lamps and oncoming headlights, the scene is always brightly lit.

Here is where the non-anonymity of the city breaks down. Because it's possible to achieve, among all those people and in all that light, a kind of invisibility, it's possible to persecute the people who annoy you, in a very personal and anonymous way, without their ever finding out it's you who's been doing the persecuting. Only this can explain why the movie *Sliver*, while silly, nevertheless intrigued New Yorkers. The plot concerns a man in a big apartment building who watches his neighbors, going about their private business, via remote camera. Only in New York.

There is safety in the city's crowds, but also a kind of terrified amazement: Who *are* all these people? Where do they think they're going? Is one of them watching me? Following me? Filming me? Writing my name on walls? □

DELECTATIONS

A Conservative Breakfast

DIGBY ANDERSON

THE English have largely abandoned the traditional cooked breakfast. The wives are too lazy and churlish to cook it. Their husbands and children are too lazy to get up in time to eat it. In addition, all of them gullibly swallow the propaganda of assorted food faddists and health fascists. So they spoon up mixtures of grey cardboard, sawdust, and skimmed milk before they slouch off to the office, school, or unemployment-handout center. This mixture, they believe, will make them go to the lavatory, banish heart disease, and guarantee that they live forever. Why such a lazy people should want to do something as energetic as live forever is a mystery.

Many Americans have apparently kept the cooked breakfast of fried eggs, bacon, sausage, and fried (preboiled) potatoes. They are to be congratulated. But only a little, for what they have kept is only the appearance. Their breakfasts are a sham. They too are lazy, especially when it comes to shopping for the right ingredients. Take the first word in the above description, "fried." Frying imparts taste because of the changes that occur when foods are cooked at the temperature it makes possible. But also, and crucially, the frying medium gives its own taste especially to eggs and potatoes. Breakfast must be cooked in meat fat. Bacon fat is the norm. Pork fat will do. Goose and duck fat are excellent. Chicken fat is very good too. I like pheasant fat. The conservative kitchen always has plenty of all of these because its cook prepares lots of bacon, geese, and chickens, and keeps the fat. If you do not and thus don't have good fat and won't obtain it any other way, then don't even try to prepare a cooked breakfast. It will be a sham, a lie, a cheat. Eat cardboard instead—for an eternity.

Eggs should be fresh, but their freshness matters much less than their taste, which depends on what the hens or ducks have eaten. Hens and ducks left to range free will eat grass, worms, insects, seeds, and household scraps, including meat fat, which they love. Indeed my hens' eggs used faithfully to remind me of what I had had for dinner two nights before: "Is there a hint of snapper in your egg today, dear? We must have thrown the heads out for the hens." With hens, small eggs are better than big ones: there is more yolk to white. So eat four pullets' eggs rather than two large hens' eggs. Goose eggs make a good serving, about four times a hen's egg. Duck eggs have the best flavor. Turkey eggs are also good. Eggs must never be turned over in the cooking. In this, as in most matters of taste, there is no choice. They should be fried in a lot of fat, which can be spooned over the top to ensure it is hot.

Proper bacon is difficult to obtain in both the U.S. and England. The presliced is cut far too thin. Sliced or not, the modern cures are far too sweet. Worst of all, most bacon contains large amounts of water. When it hits the pan, this gushes out and the bacon steams rather than fries. Moreover the water contains chemicals which stick to the bottom of the pan so that when you fry your eggs after the bacon, the eggs stick to the pan and break. If you can't find good bacon, cure your own. Smoking may be too complicated, but it is not difficult to make uncured bacon in a wet cure of salt, saltpeter, and flavoring. Look up a recipe in any old cookery book. I haven't the time or space. Anyway I can't do everything for you. Use some initiative, for goodness' sake.

But I *have* described in a previous column how to make your own sausages, and no doubt you are all doing this now. That leaves the potatoes. Always start from scratch. Boil the potatoes in their skins—floury ones if they are to be mashed and fried, firm if they are to be sliced and fried. Let them cool, take off the skins, and fry the potatoes. You might try the modern English version of "bubble and squeak," potatoes mashed with cooked greens and fried and turned again and again for some twenty minutes till it is very reduced and browned in and out. Or the old version which, of course, included leftover roast meat, usually beef.

Toast, I will deal with another day. What passes for it on most tables I am not up to describing now. But what should you drink with breakfast? The Spanish don't have much to teach Anglo-Saxons about what to eat for breakfast, though their tostadas spread with pork fat are all right in an emergency. But you can still see them drinking very large brandies for breakfast. So why not us? We are always being told we live in a multicultural society. Let's start the day the multicultural way. □

Mr. Anderson is food columnist for The Spectator *(London) and the author of* The Spectator Book of Imperative Cooking.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Good Fight: The Education of an American Reformer, by Gary Hart (Random House, 327 pp., $23)

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(Continues on page 68)

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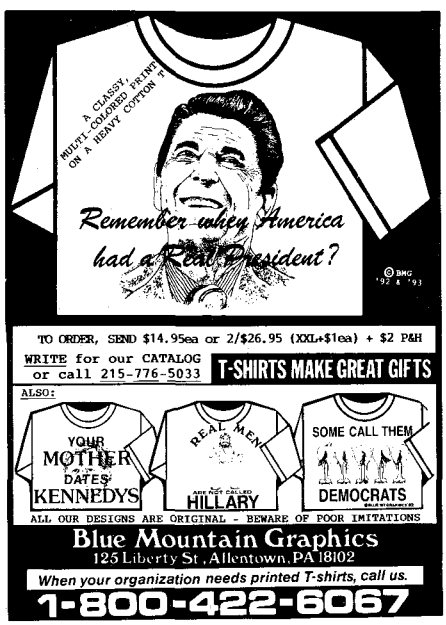
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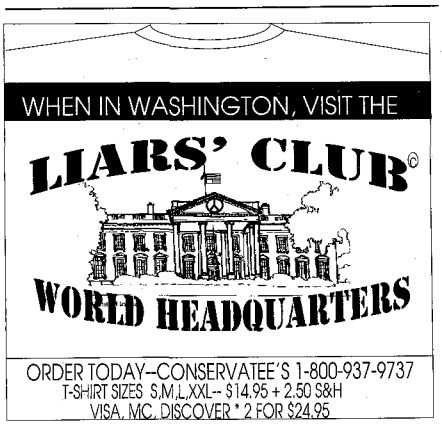
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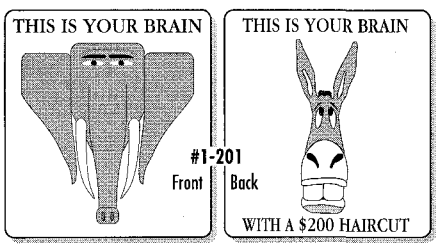

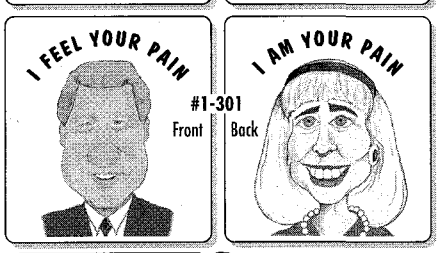

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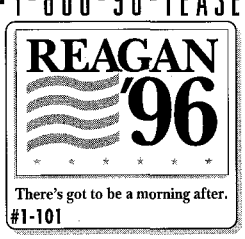

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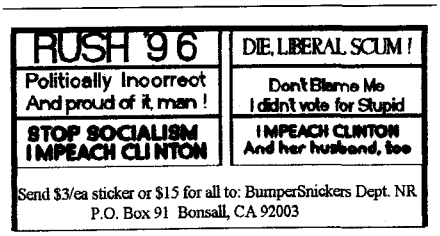
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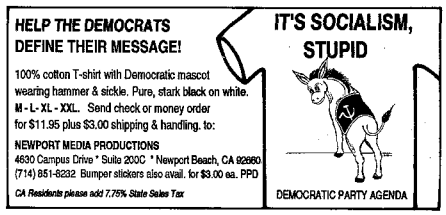
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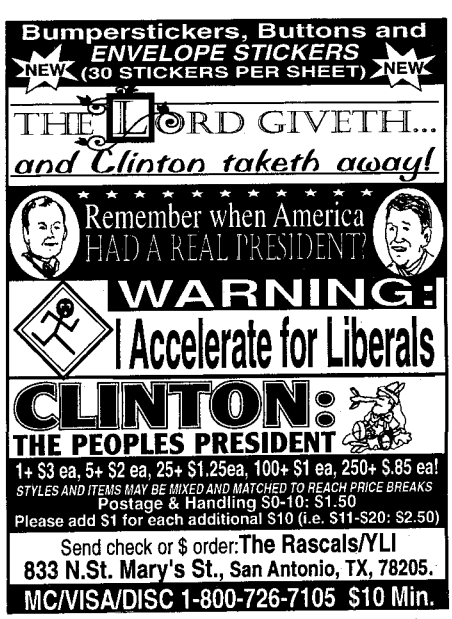
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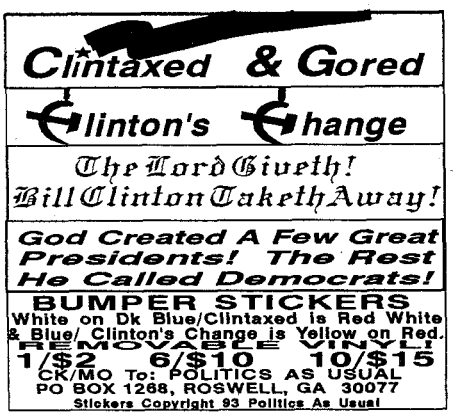
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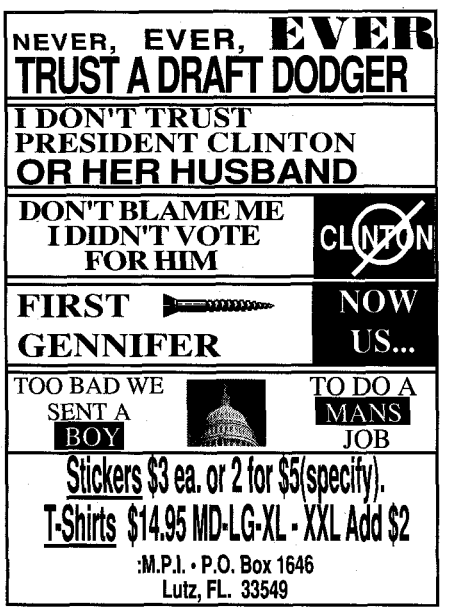
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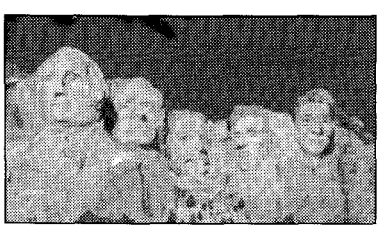

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LONELY, CEREBRAL PRISONER seeks correspondence. Ronald Davidson, #76A1166, Attica Prison, Attica, N.Y. 14011-0149.

Miscellaneous

WHO'S BEEN KILLING the Star Wars scientists? Did 22 SDI researchers really *all* commit suicide? Disturbing report, $5. 1023 S. Church Street, #1-A, Asheboro, N.C. 27203.

BRIEFS

(Continued from page 64)

of old Bethany–Nazarene philosophy courses, civics lectures, and now-dated New Democrat goo-goo position papers, only occasionally envenomed by that high-pitched, self-righteous, unmistakable McGovernite rhetorical viciousness, as when Mr. Hart slashes at Pat Buchanan for having "the blood of the original occupants of this land" on his hands. Less excusable still is "the reformer's" failure to acknowledge even a trace of personal responsibility for what he calls in passing "the incident" that destroyed his 1988 presidential candidacy and for which he blames, in turn, the press, other politicians, the Zeitgeist—anything except "the reformer" himself. Toward the end of the book, in his uniquely ponderous way, "the reformer" tells us that "The dinner party is closed to the heavy of mind, if not the heavy of heart." Heavy of mind, heavy of prose. For him the party is definitely over. What was it all about? Early on, he tells us that "reform is nothing but the American ideal: the pursuit of happiness." Indeed. From Pilgrim's Progress to Rake's Progress to the Pursuit of Happiness to Monkey Business. As for the rodent, he's lucky that Donna Rice or Mrs. Hart apparently didn't have big brothers—or for that matter, rat terriers. —JOHN R. COYNE JR.

Seaward, by Brad Leithauser (Knopf, 384 pp., $23)

IN AN age when to describe a novel as solipsistic and formless is less to condemn than to taxonomize it—as contemporary and, alas, American—Brad Leithauser has been the kind of modern fiction writer that even skeptics go out of their way to read. In Leithauser's new novel, however, something has gone suddenly wrong. All the deftness has disappeared, and instead of charming eccentrics in exotic places, we have a cast of dullards unmatched outside of those French *nouveaux romans* in which the main characters are the drapes and furniture. Terry Seward is a communications lawyer and a blue-chip mediocrity. His wife, Betsy, has drowned off the Cayman Islands two years earlier. If the jacket copy is to be believed, Leithauser is *trying* to make his characters boring, to get across the point that extraordinary things happen to very ordinary people. The "extraordinary thing" comes when Terry, waiting for his sister-in-law in a deserted summer house in Virginia's Great Dismal Swamp, sees an apparition of his dead wife. It unhinges him. He takes two months off work, begins to research psychic phenomena, and embraces a number of New Age platitudes. To be sure, boring people can come to the kinds of revelations that are worth writing novels over—but not when they show a stunted moral imagination and a puniness of soul that arise from the author's own failings. The problems start with tin-eared dialogue. And there's the narrative voice. Terry doesn't *eat* lobsters; he executes "the whole elaborate business of crustaceal deconstruction and extraction." Every meal is an orgy of periphrasis, as Leithauser describes everything *ad nauseam*—including nausea. This kind of writing isn't just annoying; it's a distraction from the potentially interesting question of what one is to make of Betsy's apparition. —CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL

A Mouthful of Air, by Anthony Burgess (Morrow, 416 pp., $25)

LIKE Cleopatra, the alphabet is distinguished by its infinite variety. If a writer cannot find a sufficiently apposite word in the dictionary, he can simply invent one—as Lewis Carroll did. George Orwell took it a stage further by inventing an entire language—Newspeak, the totalitarian tongue of Oceania in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Now Anthony Burgess, having similarly endowed the droogs of *A Clockwork Orange* with the power of speech, has produced a linguistic longueur aptly entitled *A Mouthful of Air*. This sprawling semantic study is pedagogically prolonged, and says little that has not been said already by John Searle, Noam Chomsky, George Steiner, and John Austin, among others. But, Burgess being Burgess, the book is provocatively polymathic, encompassing the Malay dialect, Roger Moore, *The Divine Comedy*, and gay Guardsmen. And a British class question: Why are Cockneys accused of sloppy diction when they talk of "singin' and dancin'," while the so-called upper classes can get away with "huntin', shootin', and fishin'"?

—MICHAEL ROMAIN

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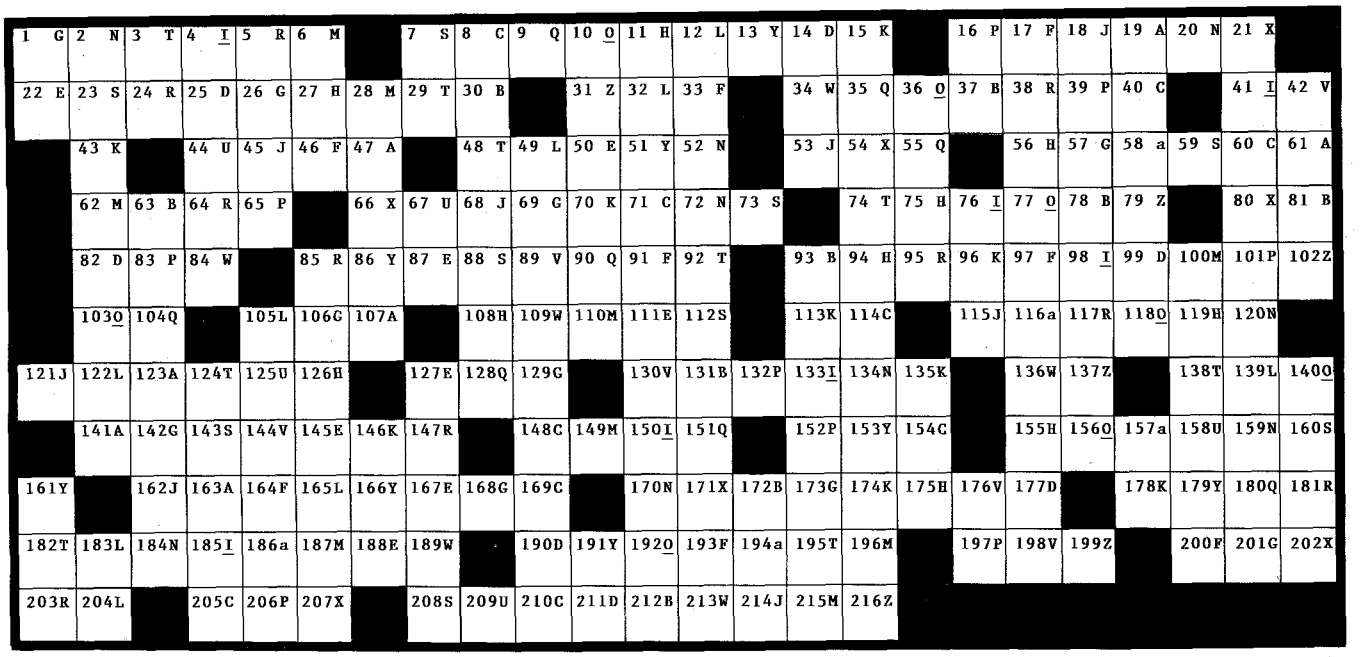
TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

A. Well-rounded W.Va. city — 141 123 107 47 163 186 19 61

B. Impropriety — 172 78 30 212 131 63 93 37 81

C. Pat Schroeder, e.g. — 210 114 205 40 154 148 60 169 8 71

D. Air-worthy PCs — 177 190 99 82 14 25 211

E. CD concern — 167 188 145 111 87 50 22 127

F. All-American dish (2 words) — 91 200 17 164 46 97 193 33

G. Mont Cervin, Germanically — 173 57 69 1 129 142 106 26 201 168

H. Economized, at the front — 75 94 108 27 119 175 155 56 11 126

I. Turkish footstool — 76 185 150 41 4 98 133

J. Chew out — 121 45 214 115 53 18 162 68

K. NT book — 146 178 113 70 135 174 43 15 96

L. Jack Benny's favorite NY city — 49 165 183 32 122 204 105 139 12

M. Place for grave words — 196 215 110 62 6 28 187 149 100

N. Itineraries — 159 170 2 134 120 184 20 72 52

O. Go around the enemy — 103 77 140 10 156 192 36 118

P. Byrd-brained destination (2 words) — 65 206 101 197 83 39 16 152 132

Q. Branch — 151 104 9 90 128 180 35 55

R. Topic of this puzzle's quote — 147 64 95 203 85 5 24 38 117 181

S. Warranted — 7 23 112 88 143 208 59 160 73

T. Blackford Oakes specialty — 182 195 48 124 3 92 74 138 29

U. Flora's companion — 44 209 158 125 67

V. Beliefs — 42 176 89 144 198 130

W. Moral principles — 84 136 213 109 34 189

X. Pliant — 207 54 80 66 202 171 21

Y. Carpenter's favorite plant (2 words) — 161 86 166 191 179 153 13 51

Z. Most strange — 137 216 79 199 102 31

a. New star — 194 116 58 157

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. GEORGIE ANNE GEYER: *New World*: "What the United States in particular must wake up to is the new reality that, far from being protected from these terrorist events, it is now a target of them, and often for reasons rooted in situations elsewhere. The party has just begun."

For Vol. II of the puzzle collection, send $5.95 (plus $1 S&H) to: T-Gram Plus, 3279 Lake Powell, Williamsburg, Virginia 23185.

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The Perpetual Roller Coaster

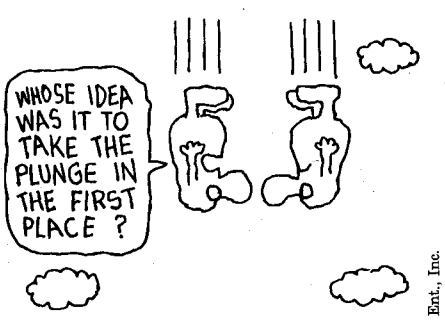
NEW YORK, JULY 26

At the height of the Midwestern flood, President Clinton promised that the bill would be picked up by—the general public. Later in the week, word came out that $28 billion would be added to the incomes of low-paid workers who had families. The two items alone amount to $38 billion, which is over one-half of the money that is supposed to flow in from the increased rate of taxation. Money which, by the way, will not flow in as advertised, for the simple reason that human beings behave differently in different tax situations. A more succinct way of putting this is that human beings are human.

The trouble comes, of course, with any gesture of resistance to such a matter as, say, relief for flood victims of the Mississippi River, or hurricane victims in Florida, or earthquake victims in California. Ideally, regional insurance would be there. But regional insurance wasn't there, so what is to be done? And what are we to do, to help low-earning households bring together enough to support their families? The impulses are very difficult to resist, but it pays to remind oneself that there is a cost that attaches to general benevolences. Not even the Democratic Party can generate a free lunch.

Mr. Herbert Stein, a learned economist who served as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors under Mr. Nixon, indulges an independent disposition, and counsels his many followers to go ahead and approve Mr. Clinton's budget reconciliation bill. He begins by telling us (in the *Wall Street Journal*) which are the assumptions he has reason to question in the Clinton enterprise. Most of them: anticipated job creation, tax collections, etc. But he ends by saying that the American people clearly feel that some kind of a corporate effort to reduce the budget deficit is in order, and those people elected a President, and a majority of the Senate and a majority of the House, and we are, after all, a self-governing nation. Political theorists could legitimately stress the difference between our system and the parliamentary democracies which are given the absolute power to rule. Here there are the formal divisions of power, separating judicial, executive, and legislative. And then there are the divisions of power at the next echelon down, Democratic senators who gravitate toward Republican premises, even as there are divisions within the Supreme Court. Only the executive can speak with a single voice, but its power is limited. Professor Stein is saying: Let's go with Clinton and see what the hell happens. Economist Stephen Moore brings a different perspective to the question. He writes (in *NR*), "In voting on Bill Clinton's economic plan, Democrats must choose whether to torpedo the Clinton Presidency or the U.S. economy. It is generally assumed that they will dutifully opt for the latter."

It may be that Clinton will be booted out in a few years because of his maladministration. But it is very unlikely that at the same time the American public is going to make radical departures of the kind that would be needed to reverse the trend toward omnipotent government. The overarching lesson of self-government, namely that progressive rates of taxation are incompatible with equal treatment under the law, isn't one we are likely to accept in 1996, with the repeal or modification of the 16th Amendment. For this reason we will continue lurching toward this or the other expedient, and the day's news will consist of the different bits of advice we get from a Herbert Stein and a Stephen Moore. It makes for an exciting time, but doesn't give us the kind of serenity we might expect in a society in which the functions of government were truly limited. □



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Mr. Clinton's Trail Of Assurances

NEW YORK, JULY 12

In Seoul, Tom Brokaw asked President Clinton a question knowing very well that Mr. Clinton would not answer it. The question was, Might the Administration engage in a pre-emptive strike against North Korea in order to abort the construction of a nuclear bomb? Mr. Clinton's answer was in the well-known mode. The trick is to rephrase the question in such a way as to change its meaning; then answer the transubstantiated question; then look pleased with yourself. What the President said was that he was determined to maintain U.S. forces in South Korea and in Japan, which would communicate to North Korea the inflexibility of our commitment to security in that part of the world.

Everything Mr. Clinton does that touches on nuclear policy is vital these days, if we take into account that North Korea, Iraq, Iran, and Libya are further advanced in the construction of a nuclear weapon than we were in January of 1945. The bellwether of a mature policy on nuclear weapons is our attitude toward testing. At just about the time Mr. Clinton was seeking to be persuasive in South Korea, he was scuttling a schedule of nuclear tests recommended by his own security staff. That decision—no testing—caused all the Rockettes of Eastern Seaboard liberalism, led by choreographer Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times*, to can-can their delight.

The purpose of maintaining a nuclear inventory today is to maintain a credible threat to uppity Third Worlders who wish to acquire the means to terrorize the world. James Schlesinger, former Secretary of Defense and former head of the CIA, reminds us in the *Wall Street Journal* that it is not possible to guarantee a functioning nuclear arsenal without occasional testing. He tells us that the same people who wouldn't let six months go by without testing their lawn mowers are prepared to hazard the credibility of our deterrent force by simply assuming that there is nothing in its intricate composition that might go wrong. He reminds us that for two years after Pearl Harbor our torpedoes, which had

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gone for years untested because of the skeletal defense budget in the Thirties, were unserviceable. Schlesinger makes a second point, that by refusing to test, we constrain our allies to put off tests, which means specifically that Great Britain is prevented from checking its Trident missile, on which its entire strategic security is based, and which it purchased from us at great cost.

The second indication of our attitude toward nuclear weapons has of course to do with the pursuit of a defense system against missiles aimed our way—a Patriot-plus program—which, however, alarms the same gentry who oppose nuclear tests. Opposition to continued scientific exploration of defense technology, like opposition to underground testing even when severe precautions are taken against radioactivity, isn't the fruit of hard analytical thought. It is a sign of a kind of fetishism. Anything that touches on the nuclear question is, for some people, unclean, like lust for your neighbor's wife.

But the trouble with this, as Peter Rodman points out in his essay "A Grown-Up's Guide to Non-proliferation" (*NR*, July 5) is that we live in a dirty world. We have to rid ourselves of a sense of guilt that paralyzes those instincts in us that tell us we can detect the difference between a North Korea and a Great Britain; that to encourage Britain to refine her nuclear arms must not embarrass us when talking a different language to North Korea or Iran or Iraq. "According to the *New York Times*, the Administration is looking for ways to 'reassure North Korea,' and is 'wary about leaving North Korea feeling cornered.' The danger of escalation and general lunacy on the Korean peninsula is not widely thought to come from Seoul or Washington. It is we who should make the demands."

Mr. Clinton's emphasis must be on the non-proliferation treaty and its enforcement worldwide. The North Koreans threatened only a few months ago to opt out of that treaty. That was the time to announce exactly what measures we were prepared to take to enforce compliance. Only just before the crisis point, North Korea said, "Well, we'll think about it." And the pressure lifted.

The process is thoroughly refined in Iraq, where Hussein plays with us and with the UN, on the matter of inspection. It is regularly practiced in Belgrade, where Milosevic makes us dance about as, day after day, he goes from capitulation to ultimatum. North Korea is picking up the rhythm: How to keep the United States jittery but undecided, while we pursue our weapon—a stitch at a time. □

The Docudrama On Teddy

NEW YORK, JULY 28

The fusillade aimed at author Joe McGinniss raises interesting points, and proceeds with scant acknowledgment of his unusual literary powers. It makes sense, before concluding that Mr. McGinniss is a dull and lazy mountebank, to remember that he is the author of *The Selling of the President*, and *Fatal Vision*. If he is a dullwitted writer, then he must have used a ghost for those works.

Some of the criticism bares the motives of the critic. Priscilla Painton of *Time* deals with McGinniss as a serial killer and concludes her review, "The book seems obsessed with debunking the Kennedy myth, as if it needed debunking. And nowhere does it explain Ted's fundamental paradox: that a man so self-destructive stuck so willingly to the daily tilling of the legislative field and left such a profound mark on his country." It is hard to know why the two qualities have difficulty going hand in hand: Richard Nixon was certainly self-destructive, and yet he left a profound mark on his country and indeed the world. The fingerprint of Ted Kennedy on the national scene is uncomplicated: A dogged desire to approve any legislation that increases the public sector and decreases the private sector; and, at a low ideological level, his willingness to slander scholarly dissidents from his world-view. If Joe McGinniss had written a book three times as long, he could not have packed into it more spiteful hyperbole than Kennedy managed against Robert Bork in a single paragraph in 1987. What it boils down to is that there are people who like Kennedy because he is a lefty, and they don't like what McGinniss has done to him.

The formal complaint is understandable and can be dealt with disinterestedly. McGinniss entitles his book, *The Last Brother* and tells the reader that he, the author, is there to tell a story. He then proceeds to imagine what Kennedy (and others) said, and thought, in given situations. I have written ten novels in which I assign words to John F. Kennedy, as also to Dean Acheson, Allen Dulles, LBJ, Barry Goldwater, Bill Clinton, Fidel Castro, and indeed Josef Stalin. The responsibility of the author is to convince the reader that the ventriloquism is plausibly done. It is no substitute for *Hitler's Secret Diaries*, assuming that they had been authentic: A hidden recording device at the summer cottage in Chappaquiddick memorializing what Teddy said when he arrived back that night would be historically interesting in a sense that no novelist can duplicate. And it is unquestionably the case that the assignment of words to a person still living (when this is done on television, they call it a "docudrama") presents great temptations for the writer who wants to discharge an animus. The much-discussed lawsuit over the profile in *The New Yorker*, in which Janet Malcolm put words in the mouth of psychiatrist Jeffrey Masson, was ruled by the court to be a transgression because the author represented the words as having actually been spoken.

Joe McGinniss self-evidently does not do this. The reader of his book would need to judge whether what is known about the Kennedys is consistent with the representations in the book. When a few years ago ABC presented the docudrama on Richard Nixon and Watergate, a venture deeply resented by Mr. Nixon, the viewer had to decide whether he thought the treatment fair and a plausible recreation of the great drama it recorded. Although there was no formal license to put words into the mouths of Mr. Nixon, his family, his friends, and his staff, the judgment of most informed viewers was that *The Final Days* was a conscientious attempt to depict the thought and words of the principal players.

Arthur Hoppe of San Francisco has written an amusing column reproducing excerpts from a "biography" of Billy Graham. It begins, " 'Oh, how I'd love to rip off his clothes, smear his body with raw Easter eggs and fulfill my carnal desires,' thought Billy Graham as President Reagan pinned the Medal of Freedom on his chest. 'Did the Rev. Mr. Graham really think that?' I asked Haberdash. He shrugged, 'No one can prove that he didn't.' " And then, " 'I also have police records. Look at this: B. Graham was arrested three years ago in Pocatello, Idaho, for shoplifting six women's Spandex bicycle pants from a lingerie shop.' 'Hold it,' I said. 'It says this B. Graham was a 16-year-old African-American paraplegic female.' Haberdash nodded. 'It shows it runs in the blood.' "

Fun and games. And the onus is clearly on McGinniss: Is what he writes congruent with what we know of reality? That is the surviving question. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Sensitive Man

HOW DOES a weeping, empathizing President drop bombs? The same way porcupines mate: carefully. Updating this old joke, Colin Powell called the damage Clinton inflicted on Baghdad "collateral"; Al Gore called it "proportionate," but the best rationale came from Pat Schroeder, who whined earnestly, "It shows he's sensitive."

Clinton's sensitivity is usually attributed to the pacifist Sixties, but anti-war protestors yelled and broke things. He's actually a product of the feminist Seventies, when the "humanized" male was ordered to report for duty.

The Seventies buzzword was "unisex," the canard was "Tenderness is strength," and the book was *The Liberated Man*, by Warren Farrell, who advocated the "Human Pronoun"—tis, ter, tes—and worse, used it.

Sporting long hair, bell bottoms, and ties as wide as a woman's scarf, Sensitive Man lived in perpetual suspense: What would feminists demand next, and would he be able to give it to them? He learned to say "I'm into women" without laughing; followed "burning bed" murder cases and came out in favor of equal suttee; and trained himself to be receptive, emotional, tearful, supportive, nurturing, and passive.

Letting women undress him was the latest thing for a while, and I helped it along in one of my *Cosmopolitan* articles, extolling the practice while keeping my real thoughts to myself: When a man undresses a woman he feels like a rogue; when a woman undresses a man she feels like an undertaker. Ergo, he feels like a corpse.

Like the political prisoner he was, the Seventies male made public confessions. "My name is Sensitive Man and I used to be a male chauvinist," he would say, describing the macho sins he committed until the day he saw the light, giving it plenty of schmaltz and piling on the clichés. "I stood there . . . suddenly I realized. . . . It was as if I had become two people."

To show how sexually secure he was, he circulated among the women at parties saying, "I'm impotent." It made him seem soft, as it were. It also helped him acquire new bedmates without going to the trouble of seducing them: with so many newly minted feminists eager to practice their sexual aggression, the impotent man became, incredibly, a real catch.

Along the same line, Sensitive Man confessed that he used Johnson's Baby Shampoo and shaved under his arms. "Deodorant works better that way," he said with a shrug. "Why shouldn't a man shave under his arms? Of course, some men might feel threatened by it, but I don't worry about being 'effeminate.'" To prove it, he cried.

This is the man feminism destroyed. There are millions like him, and one is in the White House.

Clinton supporters who defend his sensitive antics succeed only in bestowing the kiss of death. In a *Washington Post* column, "What's So Bad about Zigzagging?" Judy Mann praised him for "not being John Wayne," credited him with being "secure enough that he can change his mind," thanked him for violating "the Western, male, rationalist code of behavior," and predicted that he will "redefine our expectations of men."

In a syndicated feature headlined "Clinton Takes His Style Cues from the Feminine," National Public Radio commentator Steven D. Stark writes, "It should not be surprising that a Democrat is feminizing the Presidency" because Democrats are the "mommy party." Feminization also explains the Comeback Kid phenomenon; "because women are usually perceived as softer and less powerful than men, negative attacks often end up only creating sympathy for them. The same may be true for Clinton."

Can it get worse? Yes. Stark concludes: "The good news is that we finally have a feminine leader. The bad news, of course, is that she's a man."

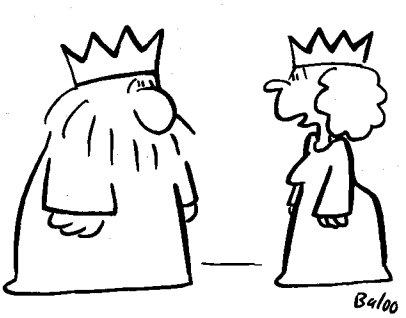
These "compliments" are nothing but warmed-over Seventies bromides. *Time*'s Margaret Carlson dredged up the tritest one when she effused that the example of the Billary proves that "it takes a solid, secure man to marry a strong woman."

OH, PLEASE. Clinton is Sensitive Man. He is also one of those peevish, overwrought males that Southerners call an "old maid in britches." Familiar literary portraits of the type include Scarlett O'Hara's jumpy second husband, Frank Kennedy, constantly clawing his beard. Another is Waldo Lydecker in Vera Caspary's *Laura*. Clifton Webb played him as an urbane switchblade in the movie but in the book he's a captious hysteric: Bill Clinton with a porcelain collection.

Sensitive Man has bad nerves because his politics keep him in a perpetual state of guilt and his passivity keeps him in a perpetual state of sexual anxiety. Stir in the temperament of an old maid in britches and you've got double trouble. "Stress, probably," said the *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*'s Paul Greenberg in his assessment of Clinton's "tearful over-reaction" to Brit Hume's Rose Garden question, adding cryptically: "he betrays signs of a political crack-up of Scott Fitzgerald dimensions."

To hell with Sensitive Man; I'll take Rush Limbaugh. The Vain Brain is male ego personified, a Jove among Apollos, a laughing cavalier, a welcome daily reminder of what real masculinity sounds like. May he thrive.

—FLORENCE KING



"A free-market democracy? Have you any idea what kings go for on the open market?"

Miss King's latest book is With Charity Toward None *(St. Martin's Press).*

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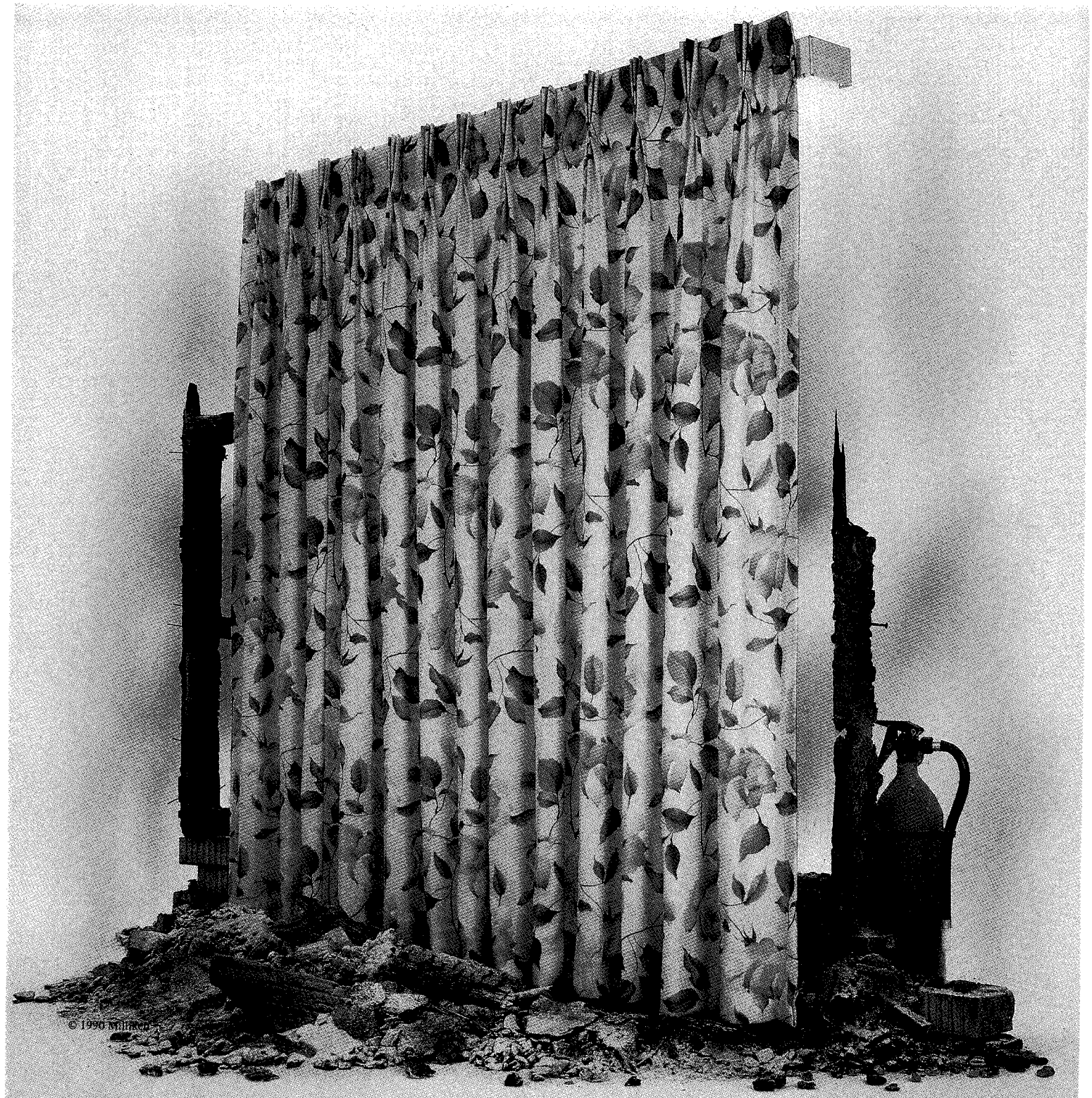

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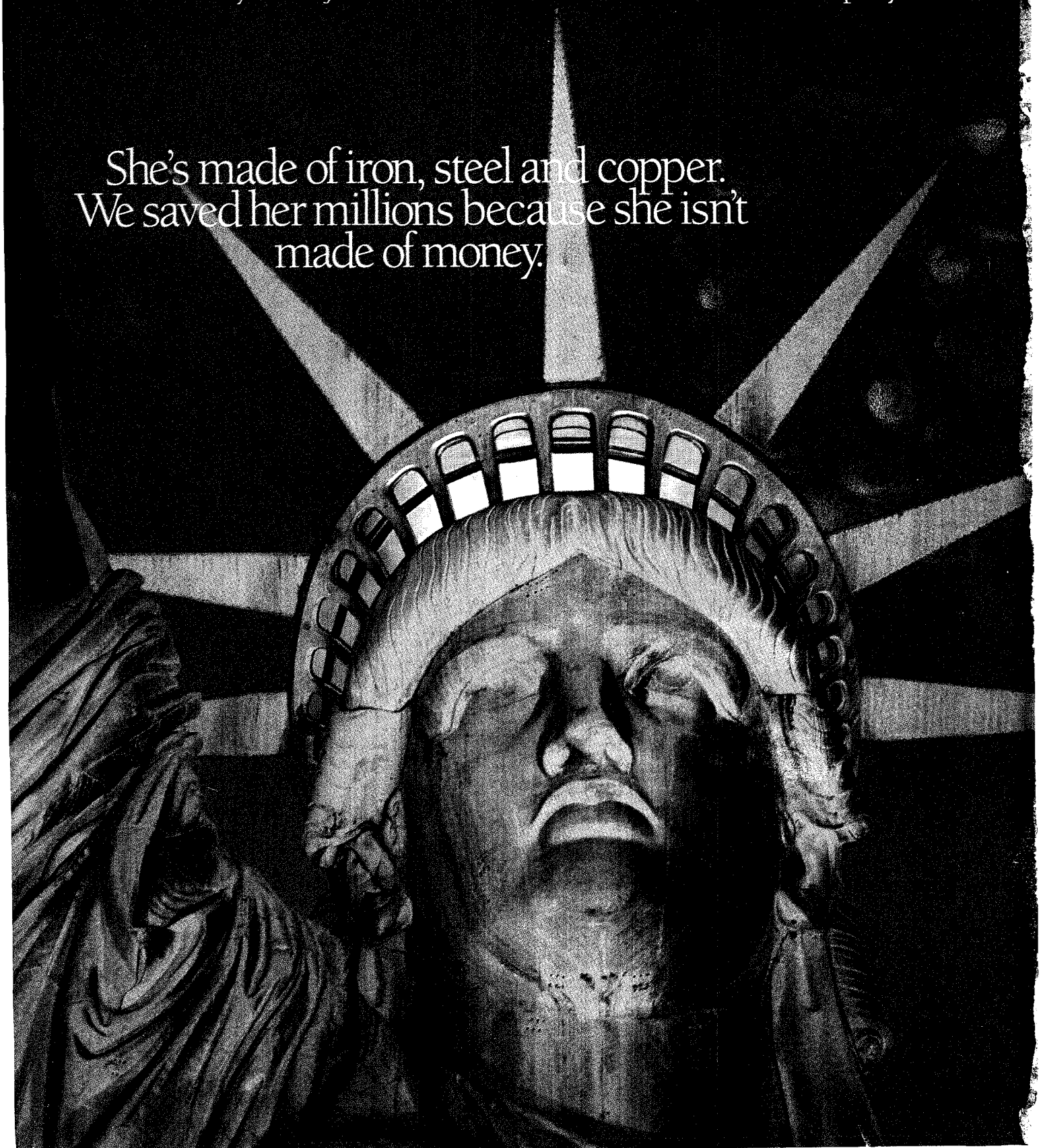
Recently, the Statue of Liberty represented more than just freedom. Due to cracks and corrosion in the iron pipes running beneath her, she stood for a towering repair cost. But by using an innovation called Driscopipe®, created by Phillips Petroleum, replacing the existing pipes was unnecessary. And a job estimated at $17 million was reduced to $600,000.

You see, while the Statue of Liberty stands for the promise of a better way of life, ideas like Driscopipe help that dream come true by letting communities put their money to better use. To us, that's what it means to be The Performance Company.

PHILLIPS 66

She's made of iron, steel and copper. We saved her millions because she isn't made of money.



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